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ART. I. — THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.\*

THE reprint of Burnet's celebrated History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by a New York publishing house, is quite seasonable; and we propose to make it the occasion of offering some remarks on a subject which ought to be, and which, by the influence of recent events and of processes of discussion now in active operation, is likely to become, better understood than it has heretofore been.

Protestants, in general, have a vague and indefinite idea of the Reformation. No branch of that great movement is less understood, or more misunderstood, than the Reformation of the English Church.

It is quite common to hear it imputed almost wholly to the personal passions of King Henry VIII. When thus

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\* 1. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET, D. D., Late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface, by the Rev. E. Nares, D. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. New York: 1843. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *Sixteen Lectures on the Causes, Principles, and Results of the British Reformation.* By JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Vermont. Philadelphia: 1844. 12mo. pp. 387.

considered, it, of course, loses all claim to dignity, and instead of being contemplated with satisfaction and pride, ought to be associated only with shame and indignation in every virtuous mind. Although a very prevalent, this, as we intend to show, is a very unjust and inadequate view of the cause of the English Reformation.

It was not, as has also been sometimes said, merely a change in the headship of the Church from the Pope of Rome to the King of England. It was more than this. It was a great national movement, actuated by the most patriotic motives, and having the noblest and most dignified aims, — nothing less than the independence, the perpetuity, and the glory of the English Government and nation. It was not only a separation from Rome, but, in its first stages, it was a separation from error, corruption, and abused and usurped power; and if it had been carried out in accordance with its own inherent principles and in fulfilment of its own design, it would have wrought results in England that would have crowned her with a glory, and blessed her with a happiness, infinitely greater than she has realized, or than can, we apprehend, now be expected or reasonably hoped.

We have placed in connexion with Burnet the title of another work, recently given to the public by one of our American Bishops. It is written in a popular form and style, and with considerable force and interest; although it can hardly claim to be regarded as fulfilling the promise of its title "on the causes, principles, and results of the British Reformation." It is scarcely any thing more than an exposition of the abuses, corruptions, and unfounded pretensions of the Roman Church. This very work illustrates what we have remarked concerning the ignorance that prevails respecting the English Reformation. Bishop Hopkins is an able and a learned man, but he does not, we think, at all apprehend the nature and effect of that event. It is not surprising that some, among those Protestants whose views of the Reformation are so vague and inadequate, fall back into Romanism. The wonder is that all do not. If the leading dignitaries, and authorised expounders of Episcopacy, in England and America, reduce the difference between their Church and that of Rome to so slight, inappreciable, and merely nominal a distinction



as is laid down by Bishop Hopkins, nothing can prevent the former from being attracted back, and absorbed again, into the latter. According to him,

“The great difference between the Churches of Rome and of England upon the subject, consists in this. That both admit the appointment, by Christ, of a living authority to interpret and apply his word in the Church, even to the end of the world. But the Church of England holds this living authority to be confined to the interpretation of the Scriptures in points of necessary faith and order, and to be liable, besides, to err. And hence, it is competent to their successors, holding the same official rank and authority, to compare their decisions with the written word and with ancient precedent, and rectify the error. Whereas the Church of Rome, besides the priestly offices of rulers and judges in the church, imagines that another doctrine of the faith was delivered to them in addition to that which is contained in Scripture; and also maintains that their judgments are absolutely infallible, and therefore irreformable; since it is very plain that where no error can possibly exist, there can be no call for reformation.”

Upon scrutinizing this passage we find that the “difference” really amounts to nothing. Both hold to the existence, under appointment derived from Christ himself, of a living authority to interpret and apply his word, to the end of time. The Bishop says, indeed, in one sentence, that in the English Church this authority is confined, in its exercise, to the “interpretation of the Scriptures;” whereas in the Romish Church, it embraces another class of topics; meaning what is called *tradition*, that is, the transmitted judgments and practices of past ages. But in the very next sentence he asserts, that the English Church itself adopts the principle of subjecting its decisions to the test of “ancient precedent,” as well as of the “written word!” He charges the Romish Church with pretending to “infallibility,” while the English Church acknowledges itself “liable to err.” It does not seem to occur to him that it matters not much to the subjects of either Church what the pretensions of its rulers are on this point, inasmuch as, on both sides, they claim implicit obedience, on the ground of their having a divine right to command. Indeed, if we have to open our faith to receive what others claim a right to enjoin, it does not tend to render us any the more recon-

ciled to the necessity, to be told by the imposing party, that he really does not know, after all, whether what he is requiring us to swallow, is true or false. If we must submit to the decisions of others, let them, at least, have the grace to feel sure that they are right, and let us have the comfort of being relieved from doubt. It is bad enough to have to take a nauseous and bitter medicine ; but it is too bad to have the doctor stand by, and coolly tell us, at the time, that perhaps he has administered the wrong medicine, and that he is quite uncertain whether it will kill or cure. There is some consistency between implicit confidence, and pretended infallibility. But nothing can be more provoking, outrageous, or absurd, than for those who acknowledge themselves, "liable to err," to claim a right, derived from, and identical with, that of Christ himself, "to interpret and apply his word in the Church, even to the end of the world."

But there always have been great looseness and unfairness in the manner in which Protestants have urged against the Romish Church its pretension to infallibility. There are important aspects in which this charge rests more justly upon some of the churches of the Reformation, than it does upon the Romish Church. An enlightened and comprehensive observer of the history of Christendom, prior to the Reformation, finds nowhere, in the course of its annals, any countenance for that doctrine, not merely of infallibility, but of perfection, attached by some Protestant sects to certain modern creeds, or forms of faith, fabricated by a particular set of men, at a particular time and place, and imposed upon all other men and all coming times.

The Church of Rome asserts, as it has ever done, the right of interpreting, and fixing authoritatively, the faith of its members, for *the time being*. But it admits the legitimacy, and to some extent has observed the practice, of a revision of its decisions, whenever an adequate occasion might be considered as having arisen. This was the main design of General or Œcumenical Councils. They determined, defined, and imposed upon the belief of the whole Church, whatever doctrines they saw fit to determine, define, and impose ; making such amendments and alterations as they judged proper ; without any other regard to previous decisions than justly, and inherently, belonged to

them. The faith thus defined and imposed, the whole Church received as absolute truth, for the time being, and until revised or amended by subsequent General Councils. If these General Councils had been convened sufficiently often, and been conducted in a wise, vigilant, and liberal spirit, the body of Christ would never have been pierced and rent anew, in his bleeding and dismembered church. The peace of Christendom would have been perpetuated, the power and glory of the Gospel secured, and the whole world, in all probability, long since been brought to the truth. They were, unfortunately, early perverted by human weakness and wickedness, as all institutions, however wise and beneficent their design, are liable to be ; and, instead of exerting a remedial, conservative, and salutary influence, became weapons of bigotry, and instruments of ambition. They were rendered difficult and impracticable, too, in a great degree, from the local jealousies and political rivalries of the various empires included in the limits of Christendom ; which were developed in increasing strength and violence of action, as the lapse of time and force of circumstances indurated national characteristics and aggravated national differences. In this way, from this cause, distrust, prejudice, alienation, animosity, and strife, sprang up in the Catholic or Œcumenical Councils, and rendered them worse than useless. In their failure to answer the purposes of their institution, and in the absence of their legitimate and healthful action, there was no remedy for error, and no opening for truth — no power of eradicating abuses, or of introducing reforms, — and the Church rapidly relapsed into the darkness, and fell into the degradation, to which it had sunk at the period of the Reformation.

It is true, indeed, that the Pope was invested with an authority, which, if it had been wisely and faithfully exercised, would have secured the welfare and the constant improvement of the Church. By his bulls, or decretals, he could control and regulate the entire condition of faith and practice, of doctrine and ceremony, throughout the whole Catholic body. In the exercise of this authority he was subject only to the restraint of General Councils. In providing this power, and lodging it in the living head of the Church for the time being, the Roman Catholic system has



the advantage, in comparison with those Protestant sects which are in bondage to creeds and rules of faith and order, contrived and imposed by men of former generations, and which are regarded as infallible, inasmuch as it is forbidden to dispute any of their articles. The Roman Catholic receives with implicit faith, that is, recognizes as infallible, the decisions of the present living Pope and College of Cardinals. The Protestant receives with implicit faith, that is, recognizes as infallible, a creed contrived by some man, or body of men — some Calvin or some Westminster Assembly of Divines — who lived and died in a comparatively dark age. The Pope claims to be regarded as infallible by his contemporaries. The founders of Protestant sects, and framers of Protestant creeds, claim to be regarded as infallible by their followers, through all time. In the system and theory of the Roman Catholic Church there was, then, as we have intimated, really less pretension to infallibility than in the theory and system of certain Protestant sects, which insist upon a strict and inviolable and perpetual adherence to particular established creeds. In the Romish Church there was provided, in the Pope, and in General Councils, an amending, rectifying, and reforming power, which, in itself, is an admission of fallibility.

But this provision, in theory, became null and void in practice. From his situation and circumstances the Pope ceased to be a theologian, and sunk into a politician. His character as priest disappeared in that of prince. His absolute and boundless authority, as might have been predicted by any one at all acquainted with human nature, was soon and utterly perverted from an instrument of reform into an engine of mere domination and corruption. It was solely used to gratify ambition and avarice, to extend the political power and promote the outward glory of the popedom, to increase the number of its subjects, and to strengthen its government over them.

The first step taken, in breaking in upon the integrity of the Catholic Church, as a vast political organization — the mightiest the world has ever witnessed, the first decisive encroachment upon the universal empire of the Roman pontiff, was the assertion of a right in each separate nation, as such, included within its communion, by Convocations of its own clergy, acting under the sanction of its own Gov-



ernment, to look into grievances, reform abuses, and, in general, to regulate ecclesiastical and religious matters, and exercise a conservative, remedial, and administrative power over its own spiritual affairs and interests. Such national Convocations were regarded as the appropriate substitute, and necessary alternative, of General Councils. There were authorised precedents for them in the Provincial Councils, which had been held, at various times and places, from a very early age. They were sustained by every suggestion of patriotism, and by every form in which the spirit of loyalty, and love of country, and national pride and ambition can be developed. The policy of kings, and the glory of nations, conspired to sanction and promote them.

As the several kingdoms of Europe emerged from the midnight thralldom of the dark ages, and experienced the stimulating rivalry of extending commerce and reviving arts, their rulers, if at all enlightened and capable of appreciating their rights and duties, were on the alert to recover back as much as they could of that large part of their essential sovereignty and independence, which had been stealthily and insensibly, but continually robbed away from them by the encroaching power of the Roman See, while they had been sleeping in the stupor of ignorance, and rendered helpless by the delirium of superstition. With this view they encouraged and promoted national Convocations, and all movements which had a tendency to give to their several Governments an increasing influence over the institutions, and sentiment of religion, within their own dominions.

The continental nations had shown more restiveness, and given more signs of impatience, under the bondage of Popery, than England. But even in England there had long been considerable uneasiness, and it increased with the lapse of time. As opportunities arose, the Government and people were prompt to recover back their proper sovereignty in ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs. The abuses of monastic institutions, their tendency to enfeeble the country by drawing into themselves the national wealth and resources, and the power exercised by those who presided over them and controlled the complicated and mighty machinery of the system to which they belonged, had arrested the attention of the enlightened portion of the

population, of the legislature, and of the throne. Acts of Parliament, the object of which was to check and restrain Papal influence, and to bring the Church, as existing in England, under the supervision of the English Government, had been passed at various periods in different reigns, and when Henry VIII. came to the crown, the country was ripe for still bolder and stronger assertions of its legitimate and inherent sovereignty in religious matters.

Early in his reign the public feeling of the nation was strongly expressed in opposition to the immunities claimed by the clergy, especially to the ground they took of exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and the penalties of the civil and criminal law of the land. Cases arose which brought these pretensions most glaringly and odiously to view. One Richard Hunne, for instance, a merchant tailor, was sued by a priest, before a spiritual or ecclesiastical court, for certain burial fees, claimed, not under a law of the land, but by authority of the Church of Rome. Hunne retaliated, by prosecuting the priest, for bringing a subject of the King before a foreign court. The clergy were exasperated with him, to the highest degree, for taking this ground. They saw that it struck at the root of their power, by bringing them into fatal collision with the strongest passions that actuate Englishmen, their national pride, insular jealousy, and patriotic spirit. To prevent the further progress of the prosecution, as instituted by Hunne, they got up charges of heresy against him, caused him to be thrown into prison, and there procured his assassination. This transaction raised the popular excitement to the highest pitch throughout the land. The clergy, feeling that decisive measures must be adopted to assert their authority, resolved to make an example of some one of those who were taking a leading part in arousing the nation against their pretensions. A Dr. Standish had signalized himself by maintaining that clerks, or priests, were amenable to the civil tribunals. He was brought before the Convocation for trial and punishment, but instantly appealed to the King, who heard the parties in person. He appreciated the importance of the issue, and clearly saw it was a conflict between the power of a church deriving its authority from a foreign source, on the one hand, and the rights of his people, the dignity of his king-

dom, and the prerogative of his crown, on the other. His decision was in these memorable and characteristic words.

“By the permission and ordinance of God we are King of England; and the Kings of England, in times past, never had any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well, that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time.”

This was in 1514, the fifth year of Henry's reign. That he was justified in declaring that his predecessors had always held fast to the claim of their supremacy, as against all foreign pretensions, even those of the Pope of Rome, can be shown by the ancient records and usages of the Kingdom. When, for instance, a see became vacant, the following course of procedure had long, and probably always, been observed. Its temporalities instantly lapsed into the possession of the crown. The Pope nominated a bishop, who was required to appear, in person, before the sovereign, and solemnly renounce and disavow every thing in his commission from Rome, inconsistent with his allegiance as an English subject, the laws of the land, and the prerogative of the crown; and renewed his oath of fealty, before he could be confirmed in his commission, or enter upon the possession of the temporalities of his bishoprick. We dwell upon this point, in order to show how strongly and deeply the Reformation in England was based upon the constitution of the nation. It was not a rebellion, nor a revolution, but a restoration of the Church to its proper foundation.

It was much hastened in its progress by the influence of Cardinal Wolsey. His power, as the favorite minister of the King, and the legate of the Pope, was greater than ever before or since has been concentrated in the hands of any one man. The unparalleled magnificence of the style in which he lived, and moved before the people, dazzled them into admiration, and brought them under his sway. Majesty covered him with honors, while archbishops and bishops, dukes, earls, and barons emulated each other in doing him homage. His mind was equally great with his condition. He saw with a clear perception the abuses of



the Church, and his vast influence was directed, in many important particulars, to the introduction of reform.

In the mean time, a spirit of inquiry had gone abroad. The most objectionable doctrines of the Church were losing their hold upon the faith of intelligent persons. The general misconduct, the immoralities, the persecuting spirit and violent proceedings of the clergy; the dissoluteness, uselessness, and expensiveness of the religious houses, draining the wealth, exacting the earnings, and depressing and depraving the social and moral condition of the people; the tyranny, usurpation, and corruption of the spiritual courts; and the horrid cruelties practised upon heretics, were producing their natural effects, in implanting in the popular mind a deep and settled repugnance and hostility towards the Romish Church.

In this state of things the question of the King's divorce arose. This has been too much regarded, not only by readers, but by writers of English history, as a private and personal transaction. It is one of the evils attending an hereditary monarchy, that the marriages of sovereigns cease to be private and personal transactions, and that it becomes necessary to arrange them, in reference to those occupying the throne, their nearest heirs, and indeed all who may be within the circle of liability to come to the crown, upon public considerations, often irrespective, sometimes destructive, of the happiness and virtue of the parties. Henry VII., actuated by a conviction that it was of essential importance to the interests of his kingdom to connect his family with the crown of Spain, brought about the marriage of his own eldest son and heir apparent, Arthur, prince of Wales, with Catharine, infanta of Spain. Prince Arthur died, not long after his marriage, without issue. The same reasons of state that led to the arrangement in the first instance, were thought, by those persons who controlled the policy of England at the time, to render it important and necessary to renew and perpetuate the alliance by marrying the young widow of prince Arthur, to Henry, the king's second son, who, by the death of his brother, had become prince of Wales, and heir apparent to the crown. This marriage, to a brother's widow, being within forbidden limits, was authorised by a bull from the Pope. Although rendered necessary, as was thought, by reasons of



state, and justified by the head of the Church, it was from the first regarded with misgivings of conscience by many, and especially by Henry VII., who never was reconciled to it, but protested against it in his dying hour. Henry, prince of Wales, was under age, at the time of his marriage. He was, in his personal feelings, strongly inclined to the match, and there is much reason to believe, that so far as his private happiness was concerned, he would have always continued satisfied with, or at least acquiescent in, the connection. When he came to the throne, he had the question of the legality of his marriage re-examined, heard arguments on both sides, and finally concluded that it was legal and proper. He, accordingly, caused it to be sanctioned anew by an appropriate ceremonial; after which he and Queen Catharine were, with the usual solemnities and splendor, publicly crowned.

The only issue of this marriage that reached maturity was the princess, afterwards queen, Mary. Two sons died in infancy.

When the lady Mary arrived at a suitable age, it became a matter of the highest moment to form a proper matrimonial connection for her, as the interests, integrity, and glory of the nation all depended on it, she being sole heir to the crown. It was proposed to unite the kingdoms of France and England, by her marriage to the French King. This was a project well calculated to awaken the deepest interest in both nations. It was felt by all to be fraught with momentous consequences, and the attention of Christendom was fixed upon the negotiations in reference to it. We can see that, had it been consummated, the policy of the nations would have been revolutionized, and the history of modern times reversed. It would have been by far the most important event in the annals of Europe. No wonder that the project was regarded with the liveliest interest at the time! No wonder that each step of the negotiation was eagerly watched by the eye of the civilized world!

Under these circumstances one of the French diplomatists started the question of the legitimacy of the birth of the British princess, she having been the issue of a marriage forbidden by the Divine law. It was said in reply, that the Pope had given a dispensation, allowing the mar-

riage of her parents. But then the question arose, and was openly put, with a confidence which was, indeed, most reasonably entertained, — has the Pope power to dispense with a Divine law? It can easily be imagined into what a mortifying, embarrassing, and uncomfortable position this question brought the English nation. It was a sad thing to have the crown descend to a female, in her to be implicated by marriage with a foreign state, and through her to be transmitted in a succession thus placed beyond their reach, and entangled with the families, and policies, and intrigues, and quarrels of the continent; but to have the succession itself involved in dispute, exposed to reproach, and open, in all future time, to controversy, was justly regarded as filling to the brim the measure of England's prospective troubles and miseries.

The country had been bleeding, for a long series of years, at every pore, in consequence of the conflicting claims of York and Lancaster. The whole nation had been made sensible, by the bitterest experience, of the incalculable importance of a settled and unquestionable succession, and had rejoiced in the confident assurance that, in the family of Henry VII. it could be relied upon. The untimely death of prince Arthur had occasioned universal disappointment. The loss of the infant sons of Henry VIII. had, from time to time, renewed that disappointment. These successive failures of male heirs to the crown had been, with good reason, regarded as the heaviest public calamities. At length the people had settled down into an acquiescence with the only alternative that remained to them, a suitable matrimonial alliance of the lady Mary with some foreign prince, by which the independence of England would not be jeoparded, its power be enlarged, and the peaceful succession of its crown secured. To have this last hope annihilated, by finding that a question of legitimacy was capable of being raised which would subject their government to perpetual vicissitudes, their peace to interruption, and their interests to destruction, was more than the national patience could endure.

It is impossible to determine with positive certainty how far the King was actuated by these cogent reasons of state, and how far by mere personal caprice and passion, in seeking a divorce from his queen. It is not either charitable,

or reasonable to impute his conduct altogether to the latter motive. With all his faults, he was "every inch a king." He appreciated his position as the sovereign head of a nation. He understood his prerogative. He discerned the connection between the stability of his throne, and the independence and prosperity of his country. He was a true Englishman. He had intelligence and patriotism enough to feel the infinite importance to the peace, and power, and even existence of his kingdom, of transmitting his crown through a certain and unquestionable succession. These considerations all operated, aided more or less—how much can be determined only by the Searcher of hearts—by personal motives, in leading him to pursue earnestly his purpose of a divorce.

But it is our design to show that his people—the Lords, and Commons, and body of the nation—sympathized in his earnestness, and were equally convinced of the importance of accomplishing the object; and that, so far as the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome was hastened to its consummation by the proceedings connected with the divorce, it was a great public and national movement, involving the highest interests of the kingdom.

As the validity of the King's marriage with his brother's widow rested entirely upon the dispensation which had been procured from the Pope, and of which the authority had been brought into very general dispute, all that was necessary to annul the marriage was, to procure from the Pope another decree reversing and repealing the dispensation. If that were done, the divorce followed of course, and no impediment remained, on any ground, to another marriage, which was, in the judgment of the nation, the only refuge of England from the calamities that threatened her. The King was backed by the earnest wishes and clear interests of his people, in the application, to this end, which he made to the Pope. The two leading potentates of the continent at that time were the King of France and the Emperor of Germany,—the former the nearest and most formidable rival, and from the earliest period of European history up to the present century considered the natural antagonist, of England,—the latter closely allied by the strongest family ties to Queen Catharine. The influ-



ence of these two sovereigns over the Pope was very great, and it was exercised most artfully, perseveringly, and effectually, to prevent the success of Henry's application. Their policy, in pursuing this course, was as obvious as it was provoking, to the king and people of England; it was, to cripple and destroy their power by involving them in a controversy with the head of the then universal Church, and by keeping them subject to the disastrous influences, and inextricable perplexities, of a perpetually uncertain succession.

A long series of intrigues, and equivocations, and broken promises, and irritating disappointments, protracted through four tedious years, marked the course of a fruitless negotiation with the Pope, and gradually alienated the temper of the king and of the nation, until, at length, they indignantly abandoned the attempt to obtain a decree from the Pope. The last act of the proceeding was as follows. The Pope, who had commissioned his legates to try the cause in England, after they had exhausted all conceivable contrivances of delay and interruption there, ordered the case to be adjourned to Rome, and summoned Henry and his queen to appear there in person. This was an indignity which neither the king nor his people could brook. He instantly declared his determination to disregard the order of the Pope, announcing that he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his crown, as a summons to appear before a foreign court, and that he wished his subjects to know that he recognized no authority, in the Pope or in any power on earth, to cite him out of his own kingdom.

Then commenced the proceedings, suggested by Cranmer, to meet the exigency, and which were designed as a substitute for the action of the Pope, namely, to procure the elaborate and solemn decisions of the universities and schools of divinity, and of the most learned men, throughout Europe, on the question of the legality and validity of the King's marriage.

While this was in progress, the Parliament, acting in concurrence with the King, entered with renewed zeal upon the work of rectifying the abuses and curtailing the power of the Church, and prosecuted it with great deliberation, resolution, and perseverance. Several laws were passed to this effect. Apprehending that the Pope would issue bulls



condemnatory of his proceedings, and in that form endeavor to array against him those of his subjects most under the influence of the Church, the King was determined not to allow such documents to be circulated, or received within his dominions, and issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to have in their possession, or convey to any other person, any document whatever from Rome, under the penalty of "incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments upon their persons."

On the 16th of January, 1531, Parliament met, and the opinions of twelve universities, together with about an hundred books written by the eminent scholars of Europe, in favor of the divorce, were laid before them. The subject was presented in the same manner to the Convocation, or assembly of the clergy, who also expressed a similar opinion. At length, after all these preliminary proceedings, protracted through so many years, the King cut the Gordian knot, passed the Rubicon, brought the controversy to a decisive close, by marrying Anne Boleyn, in the latter part of 1533. In the succeeding February, Parliament met and passed a law, which marks the true era of the English Reformation. The preamble asserts, "that the crown of England is imperial, and that the nation is a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal." It goes on to cite precedents, from the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., of laws asserting "the liberties of the realms, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the See of Rome, and other foreign potentates"; ordains that all causes shall be tried, and finally determined "within the kingdom," "notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions or bulls from Rome"; and provides that if any spiritual persons should refuse to execute the law of the land, for fear of "censures from Rome," "they were to suffer a year's imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's will." Heavy penalties were also imposed upon all who should presume to execute, or procure, any "process or censures from Rome." And it defined the tribunals within the realm of England, before which, in the first instance, and in all appeals, causes of every kind were to be tried, where they "should be finally determined, never to be again called in question."

Upon this the Pope fulminated his bulls of excommunication against the King and Cranmer ; and they announced, in reply, that they should appeal from his authority to that of the next General Council. Thus ended the power of Rome over the Church of England.

The historical narrative we have now presented, shows conclusively that the British Reformation was a political event, as much as, nay, rather than, a religious one. Its object was not so much to revolutionize a creed, or amend a doctrine, as it was to assert, recover, and secure, the most precious and invaluable rights of national sovereignty and independence. And viewing the subject in this light, all we have further to suggest is this one consideration, which we particularly commend to the reflection of those Protestants in England and America, if there be any such, who may be disposed to narrow the breach between us and Popery, and to carry us back into greater sympathy with Rome, and who allow themselves to countenance the idea that the Reformation was not so great a blessing as it has been claimed to be. The Reformation was the recovery of the sovereignty, the liberties and the glory of our father-land, — of the land to which our ancestors belonged, and which was our country then — from a foreign influence ; it was an expression of the patriotism of the race from which we have sprung, and is identical with those sentiments which alone make us worthy of our Anglo-Saxon origin, and of the inheritance of political freedom and independence we are now enjoying. Just so far as, either in England or America, we undo the work, and retrace the steps, of the Reformation, we are undermining all that the patriot ought to strive to strengthen and confirm, and sacrificing the most sacred elements of national independence. He who gives his influence to bring the minds and consciences, the faith and obedience, of his countrymen under the sway of a power emanating from a foreign source and directed by a foreign potentate, spiritual or temporal, is as justly chargeable with a violation of his patriotism and allegiance, as if in any other form he conspired to overthrow, or abridge the sovereignty, independence, and liberties of his country.

It remains for us to consider, how the British Reformation ought to be regarded as a theological, ecclesiastical and religious event. It presents most interesting points of

view in these respects. Although, as we have labored to show, the main object of the Reformation was the recovery of the rightful sovereignty of the nation from the usurping encroachments of the Roman See, at the same time the work was facilitated, and the result hastened, by objections, which had become more or less prevalent in the public mind, to some of the principles and doctrines of Catholicism, so that when the tie was severed that had bound the Church in England to the authority of the Pope, and it became necessary to organize it as a separate and national Establishment, attention was naturally given to the adjustment of its doctrine, as well as of its forms and official order, and of the distribution and exercise of its powers. It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed narrative of the reforms that were made in matters of doctrine and institution. It answers all our present purpose, to call attention to the fact, that they were not attempted at once and summarily, but gradually, by successive decisions of clerical authorities, acting in general Convocation, or in special Commissions, or by Acts of Parliament passed at intervals of time. The point we wish to present is, that, neither at the Reformation nor at any time before, during the undivided ascendancy of the Catholic dynasty, had the principle been maintained, that the Church had reached the *ne plus ultra* of actual truth, in its creed or its forms. Those sects who discountenance all amendment and progress in doctrinal belief, and are resolutely bent upon suppressing inquiry, and keeping the faith of Christians fastened down and back to existing and previously established formularies, can find no shelter in the British Reformation, or even in the structure of Popery itself. Under the Papal system, as has been shown, provision was made for the admission of new light, in the power lodged in the head of the Church, and especially, in the institution of General Councils, which were for the purpose of reforming "errors" as well as "heresies" and "abuses." This power was transferred by the British Reformation to the King, and was exercised by him, through the advising and guiding agency of Convocations and Parliaments — the assembled and deliberative wisdom of the temporal and spiritual guardians and legislators of the nation. Great pains were taken, at successive periods, to revise and amend, and



enlarge and rectify, the ecclesiastical and theological institutions and standards established at and after the Reformation. This power was exercised with caution, but with freedom, and it was expected and desired that it would, in all subsequent time, be exercised. If the Church of England has become a fixture, if it remains fast anchored to old error, and does not advance its position to keep up with the current of theological knowledge and truth, it is not the fault of the Government or of the generation that liberated it from the thralldom of the Roman dynasty. Bishop Hopkins himself justly applauds the conductors of the English Reformation for their course in this respect, in considering their great work, not as an ultimate and consummated movement, but as a progressive one ; in

“Holding *frequent Councils*, making thorough investigations into the rich, though complicated, records of antiquity; clearing away, by *slow degrees*, the novelties that had been brought in upon the system of truth, and making no changes but those which the written rule of faith and the primitive decisions under it seemed to require. Hence, no one man gave his name to the English Church: no one presumed to fashion it after his fancy. Many divines there were — bishops and eminent clergymen, bearing the regular commission of judges in the house of God — who were united in the mighty undertaking. Many martyrs there were, who sealed the sincerity of their labors in their own blood. But not one amongst them desired to do aught in the pride of his private judgment, nor to inscribe his own name on the restored and purified temple of the Lord of Hosts.”

In the same spirit in which they labored it was their hope that their successors would continue to labor, in the work of keeping bright and beautiful, and of making more bright and beautiful forever, the holy temple of the New Jerusalem as it stands forth to view in the living church of Christ, — in removing every blemish from its walls, every deformity from its proportions, and every defect from its foundations. In this sacred and devout employment wise and good men perseveringly toiled, during the first age of the Reformation. What a pity it is, that the wisdom and learning of the Church are not permitted to direct themselves to the same work, in these later ages !



The value of Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*," to a great degree, consists in the materials it has gathered together, (in a most unskillful and clumsy form, to be sure,) illustrative of the various progressive movements in adjusting and advancing the Reformation to the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But it did not stop there. After the restoration of the Stuarts, in the reign of Charles II., the object was still pursued. It was evidently the desire of that monarch, to render the Church of England more comprehensive than it was. He declared his purpose to have the Liturgy reviewed and reformed, and such alterations adopted, as would allow moderate and conscientious Nonconformists to come in. This was the object of the celebrated Savoy Conference, held under his auspices in 1661, consisting of the most eminent and learned Bishops on one side, and of such men as Baxter, Lightfoot, Wallis, Manton, Bates, Calamy and Reynolds, on the other. A particular and most interesting account of this important Convention is given in Orme's *Life of Baxter*, one of the very best specimens of biography ever written. There is much reason to conclude that the failure of the Savoy Conference, and of similar projects during that reign, was not wholly chargeable to the Bishops, or the Government, but to a morbid fear of Popery on the part of the Nonconformists and Independents. They looked with suspicious dread upon every proposal proceeding from the King, which opened a door for them to enter the Establishment, apprehending that the effect would be, if it were not really the design, that Papists would slip in at the same time.

As the project was found encompassed with so many difficulties, it was finally abandoned. But still, without any particular reference to the gratification or comprehension of Dissenters, regarding only the purity and influence and welfare of the Establishment itself, it is much to be regretted that the practice has not been perpetuated of calling convocations of the clergy, at suitable intervals of time, for the purpose of reviewing and revising its articles and ordinances. One of the most interesting events of our day is the movement recently made in the British House of Lords, under the lead of Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, in favor of the renewal of a Convocation, or as it is now called, Ecclesiastical Legislature, for the Established

Church. That he should see the importance, and desire the restoration, of such a deliberative body, is only another evidence of his extraordinary liberality and comprehensiveness of mind; and no greater good could be desired for England than that her Church should be placed, in its administration, under the control of counsellors as enlightened and elevated in their views as this great prelate.

The most imminent and portentous danger that threatens England at this time, lurks in her organization of Church and State. Her commerce, her manufactures, her finances, her colonies, her armies and navies can all be managed, but how is she to bear the burden of her Church? This is the question, as all careful and sagacious observers see, which perplexes and defies solution. The Church is continually receding into a more and more false position, in reference to the people, pressing upon them all with its grinding and odious weight, and retaining the confidence, sympathy, and attendance of only a moiety of their whole number, and that relatively decreasing every day.

The immunities, privileges, and properties of the Establishment cannot be reached by the hand of reform, because they are vested rights, resting upon the firmest basis of constitutional law, and are also so incorporated and inserted into, so inextricably implicated, so identified with, the rights of property and established privileges of the whole people, that they cannot be touched without creating a general shock and convulsion of society. But as the population of the country withdraws from the Establishment, it cannot be prevented from assuming an attitude of hostility towards it; and the final result must be a collision destructive to both parties.

This catastrophe can only be avoided in one way, — by spreading the boundaries of the Church so as to include more and more of the people. Instead of driving and shutting them out, she ought to draw them into her arms, and gather them under her wings. And this can only be done by adjusting her forms and ordinances, from time to time, to the progress of religious knowledge and feeling in the community at large, by removing all unnecessary occasions of repugnance and dissatisfaction, and by paying a respectful heed to the religious associations and sentiments of any considerable portion of the people. By pursuing

this policy, the popularity of the Establishment might be constantly increased, and its usefulness and dignity enhanced. Thousands, and tens of thousands would be attracted back within its pale. The tide would be turned, and its reflux would revive the waste places and fill up the exhausted channels, and cause the springs again to gush forth and the streams to flow, in fulness and fertility and gladness, all over the land. Every national church must pursue this policy, or be ultimately overthrown by a convulsion which perhaps will involve all things else in its own ruin. The church must be made to include the people, or the people will destroy the church.

The greatest misfortune of England at the present day is, that her rulers do not appreciate the moral forces which are organizing against the Government in the religious sentiments and associations of the people, — vastly more formidable than all the Repealers, and Chartists, and Radicals and Rebeccaites, in her realms. All her conquests in Affghanistan and China, all her colonial acquisitions during the last twenty years, have not added a hundredth part so much to her real strength as she has lost in incurring the alienation and opposition of more than half of her subjects in Scotland. In permitting the deep indomitable religious enthusiasm of that people to become arrayed against the Government, her cabinet has committed a greater blunder than if it had lost the richest provinces of her empire.

What is wanting in England is an apprehension, on the part of her rulers, of the religious sentiment in her people. It is the worst feature in the civilization of the age, in America as well as in England and Europe, that the leading minds, — statesmen, jurists, and scholars, — are not interested, as they ought to be, in theology as a system of faith, or in religious institutions as engines of power in the political, social, and moral world. If the great minds of our country applied themselves to this subject, the sects would not any longer slumber in the stupor of an unintelligent faith, or hug the chains of scholastic creeds fastened upon Christendom in the dark ages.

What a melancholy and humiliating sight it was to behold, in the Episcopal Convention assembled in New York city this last year, in the course of the controversy respecting the ordination of the late Mr. Carey by Bishop



Onderdonk, great judges and lawyers and statesmen get up, and avow an implicit faith in the dogmas of the Church! Men who ought to have examined and scrutinized the doctrines of the Liturgy with the same keenness and profoundness of research as they are accustomed to bring to a point of law or government, evidently, nay, by their own confession, took the forms and doctrines of the Church upon trust, avowed a repugnance to inquiry and a determination never to question their accuracy on any one point, and claimed the credit of receiving them with a passive, inert, implicit faith. What a shame, that men who examine and investigate every other subject, allow themselves even to boast that they have not and will not examine and investigate that subject, in reference to which all others are trivial indeed! What a wickedness it is for men gifted with great faculties and opportunities and influence, to give to all other subjects the benefit of the exercise of their faculties and opportunities and influence, and to withhold it from the cause of religious truth and progress!

The American Episcopal Church has within her reach great facilities and privileges. It remains to be seen whether she is wise enough to avail herself of them. She is relieved of innumerable inconveniences and burdens, to which the Church in England is subjected from its implication with the State. At the same time she is really enjoying, and will continue to enjoy, until the fact has arrested the attention and awakened the jealousy of all the other sects, the patronage of our Government in its military and naval departments. She has the advantage of a form of worship, which conciliates the favor, and relieves and gratifies the taste, of large classes of persons, of all possible varieties of doctrinal faith. This very circumstance, if her ritual were expurgated by the exclusion from it of all obsolete and disputed doctrines, would attract thousands upon thousands to her Communion, and give her a great advantage and growing preponderance over all other sects. And, besides this, she enjoys the benefit of an impression, wide spread and long established in the popular mind, and which has not yet been wholly effaced, that within her peaceful, dignified and venerable enclosures neither bigotry nor fanaticism, nor any form of blind and wild excite-

ment, can enter, and that there the lovers of peace and quiet, of sense and decency, are sure of shelter and of rest.

But if the American Episcopal Church suffers herself to continue to be encumbered with doctrines which cannot be made to maintain their hold upon an advancing and enlightened age, — if she obstinately clings to the dress and fashions of the past, instead of adjusting her aspect to the present and the future, — if she makes no provision for the admission of the new light which breaks from time to time, and ever will continue to break, upon the world, into her ritual and her faith, — if she persists in clasping the fading and dying form of Orthodoxy, and shrinks from the presence of reason and inquiry, of knowledge and of truth, — if she allows a haughty disregard of the progress of religious opinion and feeling, and a stupid and feeble formality, or extravagant zeal, or sectarian bitterness, or ignorant enthusiasm to usurp her high places, and utter forth her voice, and infect her spirit; — then is her doom settled. Neither pompous titles, nor imposing ceremonies, nor gorgeous architecture, nor funded millions can save her. As education and real Christianity prevail, she will lose the hold she now has upon certain classes of the people and in some sections of the country, and will then quickly sink into a feeble, dwindling, perishing and obsolete sect.

C. W. U.

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#### ART. II. — THE MIRACLES OF THE GOSPELS.

THERE is no more striking proof of the Divine origin of our religion, than the singular freedom of its records from all fanaticism. We look through them in vain for marks of over-wrought excitement, of delirious hope, or maddened fear. The most astounding doctrines are taught by the Master with a temperance, and received and repeated by the disciples with a calmness, which can be accounted for only by allowing the supernatural character of Jesus. No one can have read the Gospels, even carelessly, without noticing the unadorned and almost tame manner in which Christ's most wonderful works are recorded. No expressions of surprise, admiration, or excitement escape the writ-

ers. The necessary inference is, that their wonder at the miracles was lost in their reverence for and submission to the being that wrought them. Having once recognized the supernatural character of Christ, it does not seem at all strange to them that he should work wonders. But doubtless they took their calmness from Jesus's own self-possession. What can be more impressive than the simplicity, the naturalness, the humility, with which he exercised his marvellous powers! By what less than divine elevation of soul is it, that he succeeds in keeping his moral and spiritual character above the level of his miraculous character? By what less than supernatural wisdom is it, that the wonder-worker keeps down the curiosity and superstition of his disciples, and excites their moral sensibilities and affections? By what incredible temperance does Jesus avoid in any case making the least display of his powers, or ever dissociating for an instant his miracles from the dispositions or the truths, he came to reveal and illustrate? He is never, for a moment, only a mere wonder-worker. Either his benevolence, his universal sympathy, his pity for the despised, or some important truth or illustration of his religion, is the prominent object in every miracle he works. Jesus does not seem to be followed by a gaping, excited and marvelling crowd, so much as by an expecting, anxious and inquiring multitude. The sick and the sorrowing throng his footsteps. The earnest and aspiring silently hang upon his lips. What he *says* seems more interesting to them than what he *does*. This, it seems to us, is an indisputable proof of the sincerity, the surpassing excellence, and the divine claims of Jesus.

A mere pretension to miraculous powers is the most vulgar assumption in the world; the easiest to make and support before a credulous multitude, who are as willing to be deceived as their false prophet is anxious to deceive them. The slightest appearance of pride or display in Jesus, would excite our just doubts of his supernatural powers. But he seems to know perfectly the necessary suspicion which attaches to miraculous pretensions. He uses his supernatural gift, therefore, for none of the usual purposes of pretenders. He especially disowns as personal to himself, the power by which his works are performed. He wraps himself up in no mysterious, magnifying and fas-



cinating robe of wonder. He carries no conjuror's staff. He introduces his mighty acts without parade. One seems to see a jealous self-respect in the Saviour, prompting him to mix himself up as little as possible with his marvels, as if his personal character disdained the support of external authority. Instead of glorying in his miraculous powers, he uses them, apparently, as little as is consistent with faithfulness to his office. He often puts the admiring crowd aside, when 'benevolence calls on him to exert his divine faculty. He evidently loves to teach, to pray, and to do good, better than to work wonders. This is what we might expect from a genuine Prophet, and what is entirely inconsistent with the character of a false one.

Jesus's *use* of his miraculous powers served to illustrate his moral and personal character, as much as his possession of them served to establish his official claims. In all spurious pretensions to divine authority in the successful or unsuccessful-founders of religions, miracle has supplied every other deficiency, and swallowed up and destroyed all evidence, but its own. In Christianity, now that the religion is established, if there were any thing we would part with in the evidence, it is the miracles. But we cannot. We retain them, not so much because Jesus now needs them as the seal of his commission, as because they are so inextricably bound up with his character and history. He who is satisfied with the internal evidences of Christianity and asks not about its historical truth, he who cares nothing about its origin, so he can enjoy its precepts, principles and hopes, he who wants not the miracles as proofs, may yet value them as illustrations of the character of Christ and the spirit of his religion. For we see not wherein Jesus's temper, his virtue, holiness and greatness are so apparent, as in the use he made of his miraculous powers. The miracles, then, become invaluable to our religion, both when considered as proofs of its origin, or, to those who deny this, as illustrations of its character. And it seems more incredible that miracles should have been forged or superstitiously attributed to Jesus and then used as they are used in the Gospels, than that they should have occurred. Had miracles been either fanatically or fraudulently ascribed to Jesus by his followers, (and this is the only plausible supposition which accounts for their existence in the record,

except their truth,) they would not have been so temperately and modestly used. Neither enthusiasm nor cunning could have stopped where this marvellous narrative stops. It is contrary to all known principles of human character, to subordinate miraculous pretensions to any others, as they are in the New Testament. With perhaps one instance difficult of explanation, the blasting of the barren fig-tree, there is not a miracle described in the New Testament which does not harmonize with and illustrate Jesus's moral character in the most beautiful and impressive manner; and this, too, without ever being adduced as illustrative of any thing but his official character, and therefore undesignedly and incidentally.

If fraud and fanaticism are thus consistent, possess such lofty ideas of goodness, keep themselves so within the bounds of nature, feign and contrive for the best purposes such moving, beautiful and holy falsehoods or fictions, as Jesus, the inspired and miraculous Teacher of truth; they are so much wiser than any honesty and strict history that we possess, that we see not why they ought not to have all the reverence usually supposed to belong exclusively to reality and divine truth.

If the miracles can be struck from the New Testament without injuring the moral character of Jesus Christ, or mutilating the spiritual truth of his religion, we will consent that they shall go. For it seems to us, that the only good reason for believing that a miracle has occurred, is that you cannot help it. We believe that this was the evidence upon which they were originally received by eye-witnesses, who saw and could not but see that they were works wrought by superhuman powers. That they were not jugglery, illusion, or the effect of superior human knowledge, was apparent to eye-witnesses from a thousand nameless circumstances of reality, which convince independently of reflection. Among these, doubtless, were as principal, the artless and truthful manners of Christ, the strict morals, the lofty and holy truths he taught. Add the entire absence of machinery and the nature and circumstances of the miracles themselves, — as, for instance, the feeding of the five thousand, or that carefully sifted miracle of the man born blind and healed. We see therefore, that instead of denying the reality of his works, his enemies question only the

power by which they were wrought. They say he casteth out devils by the power of the prince of devils. And this they say, evidently only as the less absurd supposition ; for his benevolent and holy character must have prevented them from thinking as they spoke.

We do not say that false miracles cannot find believers, or that the testimony of eye-witnesses is in all cases satisfactory evidence that a miracle has been performed ; but certainly the involuntary evidence of bitter enemies, who can find no refuge from acknowledging the authority of a supernatural messenger from God, but in ascribing his miracles to the devil is very good proof that the miracles themselves occurred. The enemies of Jesus believed in his miracles, whatever they may have done in regard to other wonders, only because they could not help it. Their testimony therefore is really more satisfactory and important than the evidence of Jesus's friends. Those who received the truths and revered the personal character of Christ might accept his miracles, without severe scrutiny ; for they must have been so entirely satisfied of the utter incapacity of Jesus to make unreal pretensions, as to have been off their guard. But whether their faith in the Master was not well-founded, whether they were not justified by Jesus's character and the nature of his revelation in giving an unsuspecting assent to any miraculous claims of his, we leave to any honest mind to judge. They could not help, any more than his enemies, crediting his mighty acts, though for different reasons ; the foe, because his senses were satisfied and his objection confounded ; the friend, because it was absurd, in his judgment, that the holiest and most awe-striking of all beings he had known, the purest and best man, the wisest and most eloquent teacher of truth and righteousness, should descend to deception, to legerdemain, to downright falsehood.

The miracles, then, were received by eye-witnesses, not because they satisfied any known and established tests of wonders, for no such tests existed, but because they could not be disbelieved. Prior to experience, it seems to us that Hume's hypothesis, that if a miracle should occur, it ought not and could not be believed, or at any rate, by any but eye-witnesses, is a very natural supposition. Had no miracle ever occurred, there would be very little reason to



think one possible, or provable. But this objection has vanished with the fact, that miracles have brought their peculiar evidence with them, and that it is useless to tell men they ought not and cannot believe what, with the fullest opportunities of judging and the greatest disrelish for receiving, they cannot possibly disbelieve. The divine character of Christ, the very Gospel itself, was discredited by those very persons, who, although they derived not the designed benefit from the miracles by deducing the truth of Christianity, yet could not disbelieve or deny them. If there be a stronger kind of testimony than this, we are at a loss to conceive of it.

All that has yet been said in favor of the historical truth of the miracles, proceeds upon the supposition of the genuineness of the Gospels; that is, that they were written by the persons whose names they bear, and at the time necessarily implied in this fact. But there is a supposition, which has gained ground abroad and been adopted by individuals at home; that the Gospels did not exist in their present shape till some time in the second century, and that the miraculous portions of them gradually accrued through the love of the marvellous, fed by the confessedly extraordinary impression produced by Jesus, who, the theory allows, was a most holy, sincere and wise man and a great moral Teacher. This supposition entirely acquits Jesus and his immediate disciples of any fanaticism, delusion or false pretensions. It acknowledges the great value of Christ's precepts and character, and allows the absolute truth of his religion, considered independently of its origin. 'If a religion had been revealed from God, it would have been no other than Christianity,' is the doctrine of these rationalists. 'Christianity is therefore as true and as valuable as if it had been supernaturally revealed. It is as true as possible. It is the absolute and everlasting religion. On this very account it is that it needs not the support of miracles. Were it of uncertain truth, it would require this bolstering. As it is, miracles are only an encumbrance, a rock of offence and stumbling-block to Christianity. The religion will never obtain true and universal reverence until its supernatural claims are abated, until it demands respect and obedience on the ground of its absolute truth, instead of its miracles.' This surely is a very respectable position

to assume ; and it redounds greatly to the glory of the Gospel, that skepticism has so entirely changed its attitude towards Christianity. Instead of wishing to destroy, it now seeks to build up the Gospel. It claims to have *more* faith than the Orthodox believers. It uses spiritual weapons, and not carnal, against the miraculous portions of Christianity, and would abolish belief in them, not so much because they are irrational as because they are unspiritual. A better and higher life, more faith in God, more resemblance to Jesus, is the professed and doubtless the real object of those who attack the prevailing opinion concerning the origin of Christianity. They claim the name of Christian ; and are, in their own estimation, the only Orthodox believers in the Church. This is assuredly a most triumphant tribute to the power and worth of the Gospel. But is it the true ground, or any thing like it ?

It is impossible to consider here the historical argument in favor of the genuineness of the Gospels. Whoever has time and interest enough to do this, will do well to read Mr. Norton's great work on this subject. And to the popular mind, even more satisfactory than this work, which is purely logical and strictly scientific, is Mr. Furness's little treatise upon the inherent marks of truth and nature to be detected in the Gospels themselves ; a work, which notwithstanding its improbable theory about miracles, has supplied an important vacuum in theological literature, and can never be displaced. Its errors are most reverent and innocent, its truth most beautiful and instructive.

But let us look a moment at this theory, which supposes the Gospels to be in substance a credible tradition, but overlaid with incredible marvels. The Gospels which we have in our hands are, according to this supposition, not the fraudulent, but the superstitious patch-work of unknown persons, who taking up the rumors and superstitions of their time, embodied them in these fables. Is not this theory subject to all the objections which we have just recited against the supposition of Jesus being a fanatic or pretender, and his disciples enthusiasts or knaves ? The grand and decisive objection to that hypothesis was, the nature and character of the record ; its coherency, simplicity, temperance and unity of effect ; in a word the spirit of the books themselves, which is the sincere and holy spirit

of the absolute religion. We yet teach Christianity from the Gospels. We can find no better way to teach it. There is no part of the Gospels, which we fear to read, lest it should not harmonize with the general character of the religion. Instead of hesitating to place any precept, statement or narration, miraculous or natural, in the broad light of day, or of philosophy or of absolute spiritual truth, we rather look into the darkest parts in quest of hidden wisdom. We do not give up the hope of disengaging higher truth than ever from the hitherto obscure parts of the record. With such confidence does the New Testament inspire us, and such has been the experience of the past, that we do not think of arraigning its inconsistencies judicially before our standards, but wait patiently for the clue which shall reconcile them. And it comes sooner or later. Now, if the Evangelical books are not what they claim to be — the simple and whole truth related by credible and believing eye-witnesses; in a word, if these books are spurious, the growth of time and superstition, each the work of various authors, partly true and partly false, partly historical and partly traditional; how happen we to find these harmonious and satisfactory signs of reality and genuineness about them? How have they succeeded in thus imposing upon us? Is it not just as easy to suppose Jesus himself an artful pretender, or his disciples skillful and ambitious forgers of these sacred books, as to believe that a story based on facts gradually grew through superstition into the form of the Gospels, which are nevertheless the only source of all the ideas we have of Jesus or his disciples or his religion? That is to say, we are, according to this notion, indebted to four honest, but superstitious and fabulous books, revised perhaps and harmonized by some fraudulent friend of Christianity, for the revered and unspeakably holy image we have of Christ and of his simple-hearted disciples. Superstition and fraud and tradition combined, have furnished us with the portrait of Jesus's character and life, which transcends all fact or fiction; which has secured the admiration and worship of the best and loftiest and holiest minds for tens of centuries; a character which has not been repulsively inconsistent even with the prevailing dogma of his being the supreme God!



It seems to us a far more natural supposition, that one master spirit should have forged or dreamed the whole fabric of Christianity ; that Jesus himself, with self-deluded ambition, should have successfully imposed by juggling or superior science upon his honest disciples, who afterwards recorded naturally and simply what they saw and heard ; than that many minds, in many years, half-honest and half false, should have so skillfully woven of many materials and in many looms a garment without seam, such as the Christianity of the New Testament. We must, as mere logicians, sooner believe Jesus an impostor or a fanatic, than believe the histories of his life to be the work of fraud, superstition, or fancy. For it is an established rule in reasoning, that of many suppositions which will account for an effect, we must choose the simplest. We are reduced then to our original dilemma. Is it more rational to believe that Jesus really was the character and exercised the powers he claimed, or to believe that he successfully supported a false character such as his is ? There is nothing singular in hypocrisy — in men's pretending to virtues that they do not possess. But a hypocrite, who has an apparent simplicity greater than genuine virtue ever possessed ; a liar, who filled others with a reverence for his truth, so great as to create an era in the history of veracity and raise the standard of truthfulness to new heights ; a deceiver of his kind, who affected a love for his fellow-creatures, by beneficent acts so numerous, painful and extraordinary that no previous real benevolence ever kept pace with it by an almost infinite distance ; a fanatic, whose calmness and sobriety nothing could disturb ; an enthusiast, whose temperance controlled the excitement of crowds ; an ambitious founder of a religion, who repudiated lip and eye service, abolished forms, waived the worship of his followers and declined their proffered crown ; we say, such a hypocrite, fanatic, or enthusiast, is a monster, more incredible than all the miracles of the Catholic Church. It requires a stretch of credulity to believe in such a character, greater than to believe in the largest pretension of Christianity.

Nor are we rid of the difficulty at all by supposing every thing in the account of Jesus true but the miracles, for it is not two nor ten miracles which are ascribed to him ; nor are any of them tacked on to him, as an extra claim to a re-

spect he had already excited by other moral and spiritual pretensions; for in this case, we could lop them off and leave Jesus unimpaired. But Jesus does not merely work wonders. He wears a miraculous character. He is represented as born in miracle, as beginning his ministry in miracle, as attended by miracle from beginning to end. Nay, his character is, as we have said, chiefly illustrated by its miraculous circumstances. Even could we separate the *truth* he taught from his works, it is impossible to separate his *character* from them. To believe that Jesus's character was as holy, lofty, meek and wise as it was, but not supernatural, and that superstition afterwards set it in a frame of false miracles, which instead of jarring and contrasting, or in any way producing a disgusting glare or tawdry effect upon it, perfectly harmonises with, heightens and illustrates, not only his official, but his personal character, — is the height of credulity. A character like Christ's but not miraculous, instead of naturally attracting to itself the reputation of miracles, positively repels them; and this is evinced in the great unwillingness manifested by many holy disciples of the Master to associate him with the marvels of the Gospel. Nothing but their actual occurrence will account to us for their ascription to him and their unexpected unity of effect with his moral greatness. If saints since Christ's time have enjoyed the false repute of working wonders, it is only because the pure and holy Jesus really wrought them; not because virtue and holiness excite the marvellous in men, for they on the contrary tranquilize and regulate the judgment and exalt themselves above supernatural things.

We cannot therefore strike out the miracles and then accept Christianity as a historical religion. As history, it stands or falls as a whole. Admit that there is extraneous matter in the Gospels; it would be strange were there not. But there can be no essential change or violation of the original spirit, or introduction of new elements, or classes of facts. There is a marked and peculiar spirit, distinguishing these writings from all others. It is the genuine miraculous spirit that pervades them, as distinct from a marvelling, superstitious or fanatical spirit, as it is from a narrative of ordinary facts. Miracles are the commonest pretension in all history, and false miracles may be said to

have always one expression. We know genuine miracles more by their contrast with false ones, than even by their unlikeness to natural facts. That all false religions have boasted miracles, is the very reason why the absolute religion, the confessedly true religion in a moral and spiritual point of view, would not have endured them, except compulsorily. Nay further, the propensity to miraculous evidence, which is quoted against the credulity of the Christian miracles, ought, if the religion itself be accepted, to be quoted in their favor, since it is contrary to all analogy, for a taste to exist in men, which has not a legitimate object somewhere; and for what purpose could it be allowed to exist better or greater, than to attest and dignify the absolute religion, revealed to human wants and adapted to human weaknesses, through untold ages to come. False miracles, in a certain way, imply and vindicate genuine ones. That all false religions have falsely claimed marvels, is the best reason for expecting that true religion would rest upon actual miracles.

But we must abruptly leave our subject. The supernatural claims of Christianity are destined to be carefully sifted by the present age. If the love of the marvellous is the characteristic of the vulgar mind, the love of the bare matter-of-fact is the characteristic of minds raised only one step above the vulgar. Hastily to disavow faith in miracles, is the common course of minds disenthralled from popular prejudices, but not educated in inquiry or reflection. Incredulity is almost as vulgar as credulity. To believe nothing that transcends common experience, this is the result of a contracted, frigid and vain mind. We believe that the miracles of Christianity are destined to revive the faith and interest of the world in Christianity; that even now there is preparing a new sense of their importance, and a deeper insight into their meaning.

H. W. B.

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## ART. III. — WHO WOULD NOT BE LIKE THE FLOWER?

Translated from the German of Dr. C. Hering, of Philadelphia.

FATHER dearest, let me be  
Here beneath the open sky ;  
For the flowers are fair to see,  
And they smell so pleasantly ;  
Could I stay 'till day shall fade,  
I would find how they are made.

Hearken, child, to what I say :  
Not at night are these things made ;  
In the clear, broad light of day  
Are the flowers in robes arrayed,  
By the sun with beauty dyed,  
And with all sweet scents supplied.

The flower in the morning early,  
Silently bethinks her then :  
" Shall I bloom to-day right cheerly ? "  
And then turns her to the sun ;  
On the flower looks down the sun,  
And, lo ! before we think, 'tis done.

Look upon this little flower,  
Ere its leaves but half unfold,  
Here, as in a secret bower,  
Its small heart thou may'st behold.  
Be that heart all pure within,  
Right joyfully the sun shines in ;

Gives to every part its hue,  
Helps the tender leaves to spread,  
Here within too thou may'st view  
Where the fragrant sweets are laid.  
Who, my child, could e'er have thought  
Light alone all this hath wrought !

Mark me now ; the simple light  
Never could all this have done,

Never made these flowers so bright,  
Had they turn'd not to the sun ;  
To him their hearts they first expose,  
And in, the living glory flows.

And so be it, child, with thee,  
So thine heart wide open throw,  
And the Light shall instantly  
All its secret depth o'erflow ;  
Light, that, both by day and night,  
Makes the heart all pure and bright.

W. H. F.

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ART. IV.—MEMOIRS OF DANIEL WHEELER.\*

FEW of our readers, probably, have heard of Daniel Wheeler, "Minister of the Society of Friends," and it is not our intention in this article to go much at length into his personal history, or offer any methodical and detailed account of his "labors." But his life presents a singular, if not instructive example of activity, and his Letters and Diary may furnish some pleasing and useful extracts; which we the more readily give, as the work from which we take them, has not, we believe, been republished, and, we presume, is very little known in this country.

From a short autobiographical sketch, relating chiefly to the events of his early life, it appears that Daniel Wheeler was born in London in 1771. His parents were members of the Established Church. When under twelve years, he lost both of them, and the family were left in somewhat straightened circumstances. At an early age, a friend procured for him the place of midshipman, and he remained in the Navy nearly six years. During this period his conduct, according to his own account, was not the most exemplary, and was afterwards severely condemned by himself. Soon after leaving the Navy he found himself

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\* *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of the late Daniel Wheeler, a Minister of the Society of Friends.* London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 793.

reduced to "complete poverty," and after many fruitless attempts to procure a subsistence in other ways, he entered the Army as a private soldier. He went with his regiment to Ireland, where he was engaged in "harrassing service," and exposed to much "personal danger." Meanwhile the French Revolution broke out, and he embarked with the troops for Holland, where he was present in several battles and skirmishes. He gives some painful details of what he witnessed and suffered during this period. At this point the autobiography ends, and the narrative is continued by his son, the compiler and editor of the present volume.

Having obtained a commission, he sails, in 1795, with a regiment for the West Indies. Encountering a storm at sea and being in circumstances of imminent peril, he grows thoughtful, becomes dissatisfied with the military profession, and early in 1796 quits the service, and returns to England. He soon adopts the principles of the Friends, or Quakers, and the next year is "received into membership." He settles in business, choosing the peaceful occupation of the "seed trade," marries, and in 1816 is acknowledged as a minister of the Society of Friends.

In 1814 the late Emperor Alexander of Russia visited England, and was "much struck with the perfection of the English system of farming." In connexion with this, his attention was drawn particularly to the Society of Friends, and three years after, having determined "on the drainage and cultivation of certain marshes and waste lands," in the vicinity of St. Petersburg, he was desirous to engage the services of a member of the Society, and sent to England for this purpose. Daniel Wheeler consents to go on a visit of observation and inquiry, and leaves England for Russia in June, 1817. Here he passes some time in examining the waste Crown lands and marshes in the neighborhood of the capital, and making reports of the result; he has an interview with Prince Galitzin, and afterwards with the Emperor himself, who gives his ready assent to all his proposals, asks him a great many questions about the principles of the Society of Friends, and listens to an exposition of them. In truth Wheeler seems to have blended the characters of the agriculturalist and religious missionary, and the dress, manners, and peculiarities of worship which



mark the denomination of which he was a member, appear to have attracted no little observation in Russia, being something new.

An arrangement being satisfactorily made, Wheeler returns to England for his family, and in the summer of 1818, having amply provided himself with "agricultural implements, seeds, and cattle," proceeds to Russia, and settles at Ochta, near St. Petersburg. We pass over his accounts of a Russian winter, the thermometer being at times at thirty-seven below zero, and the effect of the cold such, he says, that when he was exposed to it in the street, and shut his eyes, "it was difficult to open them again," and wolves went mad. He had several interviews with the Emperor, at different times, some of which he describes, and they must occasionally have been not a little curious. At these interviews religious conversation was often introduced. Sometimes they "sat down in silence," occasionally interrupted by speech, in the "manner of the Friends," and the Emperor would lay his hand on his heart and say, "he felt it." On one occasion, says Wheeler, "our large family Bible lay in one of the rooms; on seeing it he opened it, and readily turned to the 119th Psalm, which he said he had read that morning. He had a copy of the Scriptures in the carriage, which he always carries with him."

All Wheeler's accounts of the Emperor leave a favorable impression of his character. During the inundation at St. Petersburg in 1824 he made great personal exertions, by which numerous lives were saved and much suffering was alleviated. Many other instances are given illustrating the benevolence of his nature. The circumstances of his illness and death are related, which together with the events that subsequently took place in the capital, would furnish matter for an interesting extract, had we room. The following, from a letter in 1827, presents a pleasing view of the character of Alexander's successor.

"The Emperor Nicholas is indefatigable in his exertions to support the interests of his people throughout the Empire, by strictly insisting upon the most rigid adherence to justice in all cases; which has given great satisfaction. His leisure hours, at least those absolutely necessary for exercise, he makes subservient to the general good, and is daily going about to inspect the

hospitals and other public institutions, in the most minute manner, which has already had a salutary effect.

"I may be mistaken, but I think that he is almost the first crowned head that ever entered the doors of a prison, with the benevolent object of inquiring into, and improving its state; this he has lately done, and not in a superficial manner; having, in many instances, entered closely into the examination of particular cases with great interest, and caused many to rejoice in being set free. This work is carried on without any parade; he just steps into a sledge with a single horse, and no one knowing where he is going, of course there can be no preparation made to receive him; in this manner all are taken by surprise, and the real state of things fairly developed, whether rough or smooth."—p. 134.

During his residence in Russia, Wheeler, as before intimated, acted as a sort of quiet missionary. Religion seems never to have been absent from his thoughts, and he now began to pant for a wider field of operation. In 1832, therefore, he resigns his appointment, which he appears to have successfully executed, and sails for England, leaving his family behind, his eldest son succeeding him in superintending the improvements which had been made. His plan now was, to make a visit of Christian love to the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and having with the assistance of his friends purchased the *Henry Freeling*, "lately a post-office packet" of 101 tons, he sails on this errand in the autumn of 1833. The volume gives copious extracts from his journal kept during the voyage, containing accounts of the tremendous storms the vessel encountered, especially on her passage round the Cape of Good Hope, but otherwise presenting few incidents which possess any particular interest. In September of next year he arrives at Van Diemen's Land; he afterwards visits Botany Bay; and sailing for the Society Islands early in 1835, reaches Tahiti about the last of April.

His usual method, on visiting the Islands, was first to call on the missionaries, who in all cases gave him a friendly reception, then by their concurrence and help to hold meetings after the manner of the Friends. Some of these meetings were holden on ship-board for the benefit especially of the sailors, whether English or American, who might chance to be in harbor, but most of them were holden on land and were composed mainly of natives. At

these meetings Wheeler's certificates from the Society of Friends at home were usually first read in the language of the inhabitants ; this was followed by an interval of "silent waiting," during which our missionary of love generally found his mind much "exercised," and was finally "moved" to speak, — one of the missionaries, or some other individual, acting as his interpreter. This was a novel proceeding in these Islands, for they had never before witnessed a Quaker, or Friends' meeting. In nearly all cases, however, the people manifested great seriousness, listened attentively to what was uttered, and expressed their gratitude for this visit of benevolence. The addresses of Wheeler are full of the spirit of love ; occasionally some of the principles of the Society of Friends are explained in them, especially the nature of their "silent worship," but nothing appears to have been said in them which could excite jealousy in the breasts of Christians of other denominations, through whom the Islanders had been converted to the faith of Jesus. Indeed the harmony which seems scarcely for a moment to have been interrupted, between Wheeler and the regular missionaries, or resident teachers, forms one of the most beautiful features of the narrative, and rarely has there been witnessed a more decisive manifestation of the spirit of Christian brotherhood.

Tahiti, [Otaheite,] as is well known, is the largest of the Georgian, or Society Islands, being about a hundred miles in circumference. The following extracts from Letters of Charles Wheeler, son of Daniel, and his companion on this South Sea visit, relating to the religious character of the inhabitants, or the state of Christianity in the island, are the more deserving of attention, as the Wheelers, from not being connected with any of the Missionary establishments, or with the mercantile interest, may be regarded as disinterested and independent witnesses, and their habits of observation and great uprightness and Christian benevolence add weight to their testimony.

The population of Tahiti, which was estimated by Cook at 100,000, was, when Wheeler visited it, reduced to 10,000. "The low lands next the sea, which constitute but a small portion of the whole island, are universally selected by the natives for the place of their abode." The tropical heats and the ease with which subsistence



is procured, are attended with their usual effects on these islanders. "There is nothing, perhaps, in the Tahitian habits more striking or pitiable than their aimless, nerveless mode of spending life. The community, with the exception of a few foreigners, or foreignized natives, might seem to exist to fish, pluck and eat fruit, bask in the sun, dabble in the water, or frolic on the sand."

"Their outward circumstances, there can be no doubt, have derived material benefit from the introduction of Christian teachers and civilized regulations, so far as they have been introduced; these, besides preventing certain Pagan enormities amongst the natives, constitute a valuable check to the vicious and overbearing conduct of foreigners, which so lamentably sullies the history of these islands. Adventurers of all kinds are not now at liberty to take up their abode on shore, without reference on the part of Government to their respectability and motives in coming; but certain credentials or recommendations, as we are told, are required, without which no one is encouraged or openly allowed to remain. This is a very useful restriction, as previously to its adoption the most worthless characters have caused much disorder and misery by settling among the natives and marrying, to remain only till caprice has dictated the desirableness of a move, when their families have been deserted without scruple or redress."—pp. 753, 754.

How much of real Christianity there is among the inhabitants presents a different question.

"It is nearly impossible for a visitor, who cannot even speak the language, to pronounce with much certainty on a subject of such moment, as the religious state of the community. Certainly appearances are unpromising; and however unwilling to adopt such a conclusion, there is reason to apprehend that Christian principle is a great rarity. Far, however, be it from me, to depreciate the labors of those who have been the instruments of the change produced in this island. So far from considering the beneficial results of their efforts as unimportant and insignificant, I regard them as of the highest moment, and as fully equal to what could in reason have been anticipated. In my opinion, if nothing more had been effected by the Tahitian Mission than the translation of the holy Scriptures into the language of the country, every sacrifice that has been made would have been abundantly rewarded. But the translation of the sacred writings is not all. Idol worship, the adoration of nonentities, or of supposed divinities, in the form of images, with all the frightful train of debasing ceremonies and human

sacrifices, are abolished; open infanticide, which prevailed to such a dreadful extent, is done away; and some degree of attention is paid to the improvement of the minds of children."\*—pp. 757, 758.

This is to look on the favorable side. On the other side are the vices and misery introduced by foreigners, and the effects of the almost universal selfishness they have manifested, and in but too many instances, continue to manifest in their traffic with the natives. Take the following from the diary of Daniel Wheeler at Tahiti.

"We have met with great civility and willingness to lend a helping hand in many of the American captains; at the same time, we are frequently sensible of a mixture which cannot be reconciled. The foregoing remark has no allusion to the inconsistent conduct of the crews of many of the American vessels, which we have fallen in with here, that are called 'temperance ships.' At first I could not but view these with satisfaction, and with a degree of thankfulness, as likely to contribute by their example to the welfare of the islanders. But, alas! I now find, with horror and surprise, that the word 'temperance' applies only to the ships, and not to their crews, none probably of which are members of a temperance society; they are merely bound by articles, that the voyage shall be performed without any spirits being on board, except as medicine, and their sobriety only exists because they cannot get the liquor; when on shore, and unbound by these articles, they are lamentably, in many instances, notorious for drinking to excess; and their immoral conduct, at this place, makes me shudder for the awful and woful consequences, both as regards themselves, and the daughters of Tahiti. Although great exertion is made and promoted by the Missionaries here to stop this overwhelming torrent of iniquity, yet all their measures are abortive, and can never be successful unless co-operated with on the part of the masters of the shipping. Notwithstanding the disuse of spirituous liquors is rigid-

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\* The practice of compelling the people to attend public worship, in some of the Islands, however, is more than once alluded to with disapprobation by the Wheelers. Thus, Charles says, "the same compulsory system which obtains in Tahiti, ensures for the present in Eimeo an external attention to the services of the chapel; but the very existence of this detestable regulation indicates unsoundness. The fact that the poor native is subjected to a penalty if he absents himself from the chapel, and the sight of a man with a stick ransacking the villages for worshippers, before the hour of service, — a spectacle we have witnessed, — are so utterly abhorrent to our notions, that I cannot revert to the subject without feelings of regret and disgust."—p. 763.

ly enforced at Tahiti, and no person is allowed to have the article in his house; yet this bane of the human race is still to be purchased on shore, and the supply is kept up by the American ships; it is clandestinely landed amongst the supposed empty casks which are sent on shore for water, (an instance of this kind took place a few days ago,) and by other methods. A considerable quantity was brought in last week by an American schooner from Valparaiso, and safely landed; but has since been discovered, the casks destroyed and their contents totally lost. By what is said, I do not mean to imply that this gross immorality is confined solely to the crews of the American vessels, because those of the English are perhaps equally implicated, but with this difference, they do not assume the character of 'temperance ships.'

"How dreadful and appalling the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor, untutored islanders, a curse unprecedented and unheard of in the annals of history; it is said that one-fourth of the whole population is miserably affected with disease brought amongst them, and kept up by the licentious crews of the shipping."—pp. 316, 317.

We find Wheeler frequently returning to this subject. Speaking of the Islands of the Pacific generally, he says: "scarcely a ship arrives, but it has for sale rum, muskets, and gunpowder." We are aware that things have changed somewhat for the better since, and recent accounts especially are very encouraging.\* Still the evil referred to, is far from being wholly corrected, and the "demoralizing and devastating effects" of traffic, and intercourse of the natives, with foreigners who visit their shores, present a subject of painful reflection. Civilized nations have much to do, to repair the wrongs they have inflicted on these simple and unsuspecting Islanders, whose confidence they have abused, and whose morals they have corrupted.

The following passage, which illustrates the Quaker views of the Gospel, will also show the manner in which Wheeler was accustomed to speak to the natives on the subject of religion, and we cannot but think such preaching more useful than the method frequently adopted, of begin-

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\* Thus it is said, that seventy hogsheads of rum being recently put up at auction "at Honolulu, only five were sold, and this was after the sale had been in vain attempted at several other places which had been visited," and that at the Marquesas and Tahiti "munitions of war and spirituous liquors are declared contraband."



ning with the hard metaphysics of theology, or insisting on a belief of the dark and austere doctrines of Athanasius and Calvin as necessary to make men Christian.

“As we proceeded, the company more and more settled down into serious thoughtfulness. One person, however, seemed very desirous to understand what was my real object in coming to their Island (one of the Society Islands); several reasons were alleged, but they were evidently not comprehended or not satisfactory. The spirituality of the Gospel dispensation was gradually brought before the view of their minds; and it was strikingly evident that there was a fertile soil or good ground prepared by the ever-blessed Husbandman, in the hearts of some present, for the reception of the sacred truths that were afterwards disclosed to their view. Some of them acknowledged that they had never seen things before in the same light, but at once yielded assent from sensible conviction. The important distinction was explained to them between the Word which was in the beginning with God and was God, and the Bible; a subject on which their ideas were confused from having been accustomed to hear the Scriptures styled ‘the word of God.’ After alluding to the memorable conference between the Saviour of the world and the woman of Samaria, \* \* I asked them, if they had not at seasons felt something within themselves, which brought to their remembrance sins and transgressions that had been long ago committed — things which they would be glad to forget, much rather than remember with painful retrospect, — querying whether they had not been long sensible of this, before they ever saw the face of a missionary, or heard his voice? On this some of them shook their heads, and answered in the most satisfactory manner with unequivocal simplicity and sincerity, — Yes, *that* they had long enough ago; proving a fact which I have never doubted, since the Lord Most High was pleased to reveal the Son of his love to my finite understanding, that the Gospel has been preached in and unto every creature under heaven. I reminded them of the Apostle’s declaration to the Romans, ‘That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God has showed it unto them;’ and, ‘He hath shewed thee, O! man, what is good.’ This I told them was that Gospel ‘which was preached to every creature which is under heaven,’ — to every son and daughter of Adam. On their saying that they had never heard of this before, S. W. replied, that they had always been exhorted to pray for the Holy Spirit, to seek and they should find, &c.; but they said, ‘never in this way,’ and \* \* I told them, — now they might know for what I had come among them, in the love of the everlasting Gospel.” —pp. 361, 362.

After visiting other Islands in the group, our good missionary sails for the Sandwich Islands, where he arrives near the end of December. Here he remains about six months, attending meetings of the inhabitants, addressing the people and their chiefs, and maintaining friendly intercourse with the American Missionaries, who receive him kindly, act as his interpreter, and do all in their power to facilitate the object of his visit. So much has been recently written and published concerning these Islands that few extracts need be given.

"Of the Sandwich Islanders, as a race," says Charles Wheeler, "I think highly. They are intelligent, grave, inquiring, and peculiarly inoffensive and docile. No one who has seen much of them, can, without great injustice, refrain to admit that the minds of these natives are quite capable of improvement and elevation; there are difficulties connected with their instruction, but the ground-work of natural capability is indisputably there. Less volatile and playful than the Tahitians, their gravity might, in some cases, be mistaken for moroseness; but no people could be more conciliating and ready to oblige than they generally are. Their curiosity is excited by every thing new which is brought under their notice, and to prove their observation, we need only look at the improvements and conveniences which they have adopted or ingeniously imitated."—p. 770.

"The appearance of the native dwellings, gardens, &c., is indicative of much greater industry than any thing seen at Tahiti; but as to civilization or comfort, I will say but little. The huts strikingly resemble in appearance old hay-stacks, having sides as well as roof of thatch: they are, however, well adapted to the climate, being at once a protection from the heat and the cold. One of the king's houses, and the native chapels which we have seen, are composed of this very homely material. The dwellings of the chiefs are more or less modelled upon those of the white residents. Some of them are really quite respectably furnished, and capable of containing the rare elements of comfort and convenience. The American Missionaries, excepting in some places where stations have been but recently occupied, are uniformly provided with comfortable houses, built, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in home style and often of home materials; neat stone, or coral, or mud-brick walled cottages, shingled or roofed with zinc, plastered, and floored and ceiled; the wood-work in some cases imported from America, whereby the natives are furnished with models, and they have already, in several instances, availed themselves of the advantage."—p. 771.

Of the general conduct and character of the American Missionaries, and the effects of their residence on the Islands, the writer speaks in favorable terms. One particular he mentions which is of some importance.

"The missionaries, wherever we have been, form an important civil defence for the poor natives, which the overbearing and unjust encroachments of foreign adventurers render needful. They occupy the opposite side; while others combine to support their individual interests, or the more general interests of commerce and national aggrandizement, the missionary takes the part of the islander; he informs him of his just right, remonstrates for him against injustice, and what is more important still, he constitutes a continual witness of the lawless conduct, in which unprincipled men indulge abroad."

Mr. Wheeler, in the main, shows much practical shrewdness, yet we cannot but marvel that he allowed himself to be so egregiously imposed upon, as we are confident he must have been in the case we are about to give. From our knowledge of the American community, and of the people of Boston in particular, we do not hesitate to pronounce such a case impossible. Indeed the idea of a ship's crew from this city, composed of such only "as deny the existence of an Almighty Being," is altogether absurd. We give Wheeler's words, however, as contained in his journal. The place referred to is Honolulu, and the date the 25th of April, 1836.

"On observing the — of Boston preparing for sea, our mate was despatched with a parcel of tracts, &c., for the use of the ship's company; when he got upon her deck, the chief mate came forward, and seeing what he had in his hand, said, 'We do not receive any of those things; we are all infidels: we do not want any thing connected with the Bible; but if you will bring us any of the writings of Voltaire, Tom Paine, or Rousseau, we shall thank you for them: give Captain's compliments to Mr. Wheeler, and say we don't want any thing of the kind; and if you persist in leaving them, they shall be thrown overboard.' Our mate returned on board quite discontented, having never before met with such a reception in the Pacific. There is great reason to fear that there are many of this description in these parts; but such an open avowal is rarely to be found. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no sailors are admitted on board this ship, but such as deny the existence of an Almighty Being." —pp. 484, 485.



Early in July, 1836, Wheeler sails for the Hervey Islands; thence he proceeds to the Friendly Isles, where he meets the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, they being the first Members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society he had found in the Pacific, and the whole mission belonging exclusively to them. Here he meets the same cordial reception as in the other Islands, and pursues a similar course, addressing the people, and distributing Bibles and tracts. One singular custom is mentioned as prevalent in one of these Islands, and is adduced as illustrating the peculiar sensitiveness of the people. In *civilized* communities a person who feels himself aggrieved by another, often fights a duel; in Rarotonga, instead of seeking the life of his adversary, he goes and hangs himself. The Friendly Islands, so called by Captain Cook, when he first visited these "comparatively friendly shores," have very few of them as yet, Wheeler says, been occupied by missionaries. Those which have, appear to have been greatly benefited by the introduction of Christianity into them.

As evidence of the docility of the people, Charles Wheeler, speaking of one of these Islands, says:

"The king has renounced idolatry and embraced the doctrines of Christianity; he has put away all his wives but one, become a local preacher and a class leader, in the Methodist Society. The queen is a class leader, and a teacher in the schools, and nearly the whole population of these islands on which missionaries reside, have been admitted into the church. There are no less than one hundred and seventy native local preachers, who are employed in all parts of the Haafuluhau group, and thirty chapels in which there is service three times a week. The people, thus led by their king and chiefs, attend diligently to the instructions of their teachers, and have already acquired considerable Scripture knowledge, and a taste for reading and writing."

Their characters, too, are elevated, their morals and manners improved, and they are better clothed and better fed, and altogether enjoy more of the comforts of life than that portion of the inhabitants who remain in their Heathen state.\*

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\* "According to missionary information, 23,000 persons have renounced idolatry in this group, within the last ten years. Of these, 9,000 are

"As regards the character of the Islanders," says Charles Wheeler, "I prefer that of the Friendly Isles, to that of any other natives of the Pacific whom we have seen. Such a preference may be more than is generally awarded them; but several reasons might be alledged for the relative estimate that has been formed of them and the other Islanders. Many of the voyagers who visit this ocean, are men of miserably low moral feelings and habits, and as such, they unite in eulogizing the natives whose manners are most congenial to their own. On this account, the voluptuous effeminate Tahitians are spoken of in high terms, though they certainly will not bear comparison with these more sober and manly Islanders. I think these people are less prone to sensual indulgence than either the Sandwich, Georgian, Society, or Hervey Islanders. But if less depraved, I do not think them at all less sensitive or susceptible of the kindly emotions: they evince quite as much affection towards each other, and towards their children. They are not so volatile and frivolous as [the] Tahitians, and perhaps they may not be quite so quick and lively as the Hervey Islanders, but their gravity and good sense are accompanied by nothing particularly austere, much less ferocious: on the contrary, they are [as] gentle and affable as children."—pp. 784, 785.

Those of the Friendly Islands visited by our voyagers, furnish, with three exceptions, "complete specimens of

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members of the Wesleyan Society, 329 are local preachers, and 1,100 are school teachers."—p. 785.

We have no wish to underrate the amount of good which has resulted from missionary efforts. A disposition of this kind we have sometimes seen manifested, with which we have no sympathy. At the same time we believe harm comes from extravagant statements respecting the success of attempts to introduce Christianity among the Heathen. We cannot doubt that there has been great, we hope innocent, exaggeration in many official documents relating to this subject. We have recently seen a remark, coming from a quarter where we ought to be able to look for correct information, which probably expresses the truth more nearly than is usual in such estimates; and while it shows that enough has been accomplished to justify a continuance of labors for the diffusion of the Gospel in Heathen countries, it proves how slowly the work must proceed. In a notice of an Address by Rev. Thomas Lafon, late a missionary of the American Board at the Sandwich Islands, who has resigned his connexion with the Board in consequence of its accepting support from slaveholders,—a notice originally published in the *Cincinnati Philanthropist*, but copied into the official paper of the New York Union Missionary Society,—it is said, that "The barrenness of the results of the labors of our various Missionary Establishments, compared with the immense outlay of means, is a topic of common remark. Nearly thirty years have gone by, since the organization of the American, the Baptist, and Methodist Boards of Missions, but during that whole period it is calculated that the conversions through their agency have scarcely numbered forty thousand."

coral formation," on a large scale. "Coral obviously forms the fathomable ground-work; the soil is quite superficial, and underneath is coral rock and salt or brackish water. One of the Haabai Islands is said to rock frightfully during heavy gales, which tends to prove its incomplete solidity under water; and some others exhibit various indications of hollowness." All of them are extremely subject to earthquakes and destructive gales. The soil, however, is fertile, producing abundance of tropical vegetation, and the climate fine, there being no season which can be properly called *rainy*, as in Tahiti, where "several months of the year are rendered almost unavailable by incessant rains."

The end of the year 1836 finds the Wheelers at New Zealand, the inhabitants of which are among the rudest and most warlike of the Islanders of the Pacific, resembling, we are told, the North American Indians to a degree that would be scarcely credited, "in appearance, habits, and *Jewish* customs." A belief in a future state, and in superhuman agency, is universal among them. The following illustration by a New Zealander, of his idea of the Supreme Being, indicates a refinement of thought which we should not have attributed to an "untutored savage." When asked "what their god was — what he was like, — the warrior placed his hand so as to produce a shadow on the trunk of a huge tree that stood near, and told his interrogator to look at that. 'There,' said he, 'is our god; — he exists, but you cannot touch him or injure him; he is before your eyes, yet you can discern no substance in the form you see and know to exist.'"

The visit among the Islands of the Pacific ended, Daniel Wheeler returns to England by way of Cape Horn, and arrives in London the first of June, 1838. At the end of three months, he is off again to Russia, and in a little less than two months more, back to London, returning through Finland and Stockholm. After remaining in England about a month, he sails for America, for the purpose of visiting the Societies of Friends on this side of the Atlantic. He attends the yearly meetings in Philadelphia, Virginia, New York, and New England, visits Nova Scotia and Canada, returns to Philadelphia, and goes to Ohio, thence back again to New York, where he embarks for England the first of November, 1839. Having determined on a



second visit to this country, he takes ship for New York, the last of March, 1840, becomes ill on the passage, and survives a little short of two months after landing.

Such rapidity of motion would seem to indicate somewhat of a restless disposition, from which we think Wheeler was not wholly free, which early, indeed, manifested itself, but which grew upon him with time, till repose seems to have become absolutely painful to him. That this, however, was united with great warmth of Christian benevolence, none can doubt. The journal of his wanderings often forces us to reflect on the power of Christian love, which ever animated him, enabled him to bear up under every discouragement, and cheerfully to undergo labor and fatigue, and make many pecuniary sacrifices. There is much in such a character which excites our admiration and inspires reverence. The narrative, it is true, contains few stirring incidents, and many of the details of the volume possess no special interest for the public; but there is much in it that is valuable, and we might very easily have extended our extracts. Wheeler had no great affluence of intellect, and seldom, if ever, indulges in any original trains of thought; his mind was entirely practical, and his reflections are often commonplace enough; his addresses too have great sameness, and many will think them occasionally wearisome. Yet we cannot help sympathizing with his downright Quaker simplicity and benevolence, and we close the volume with a hearty disposition to pronounce a blessing on his memory, and with the wish that the world more abounded in men of so much moral purity and worth.

A. L.

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ART. V.—BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

THE public is at length permitted, and we doubt not many will be eager to avail themselves of a privilege which they have long coveted, to look upon the grand historical picture of *Belshazzar's Feast*, painted by Allston, and now exhibited at the Corinthian Gallery in this city. The subject is taken from the fifth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Daniel. According to the account given in that

portion of the sacred narrative, Belshazzar, the Babylonian king, "made a great feast to a thousand of his lords." Being elevated with wine, he commanded the sacred vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple in Jerusalem, to be brought, "and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them." In the midst of the banquet a man's hand appeared to the king, and wrote certain mysterious characters upon the wall. The terrified monarch called for the astrologers and soothsayers, who came in, but were unable to read and interpret the writing. He then sent for Daniel, who had been carried into captivity with his countrymen the Jews, and who had been highly esteemed and honored for his wisdom, by Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel appears before the king, interprets the writing, and, to the dismay of his hearers, predicts the speedy overthrow of the Chaldean monarchy. Such is the subject which the painter has treated in a masterly style.

It is generally known that the picture was left unfinished by the artist. In the descriptive pamphlet, furnished to those who visit the exhibition, we are informed that "Mr. Allston began it in London, before his return to his native country, and had very nearly finished it here fifteen or twenty years ago. Various circumstances prevented his resuming the work until within a few years before his death. At one period it was considered by himself as requiring not many weeks' labor to complete it. In that state it was seen by some friends, to whom it appeared a finished picture. For some reason, however, the artist thought that the effect of the composition would be improved by a change in the perspective, and in connexion with this, an enlargement of the figures in the foreground." These changes had been commenced and were in progress, when the labors of the artist were arrested by his death.

If, according to the pamphlet from which we have already quoted, "for artists, the unfinished state of the picture hardly diminishes its value," we may say, with equal truth, that this circumstance hardly diminishes its interest to the beholder. It is sufficiently completed to present the general conception of the painter, and the alterations in progress have the effect to superadd to the pleasure derived from viewing a work of high art, the associated idea of him

whose last touches were here given only a short time before death robbed his hand of its cunning, and changed himself into an image stamped upon the memory of his friends. On our first visit to the exhibition, there was something bordering upon solemnness in the impression produced. The feelings were akin to those with which one would enter the room, yet undisturbed in its minutest arrangements, where but recently had lived and moved, sat and studied, mused and conversed, a person loved for his worth, or honored and admired for his genius. And by a kind of delusion which would perpetually recur, we could not rid ourselves of the fancy that the artist would return, and take up again the brush and palette, and give the designed enlargement to that royal figure, gazing upon the mysterious "hand-writing upon the wall," — invisible, and meant to be invisible to the spectator, — and finish the picture in detail, before it should be given up to the cherishing custody of the public taste. One moment we would imagine, that we were specially privileged by the artist in being permitted to look upon his work while it was still under his eye and hand; and the next moment we seemed to ourselves to be intruders, who had by stealth gained admittance into his private room, and we expected he would enter and find us examining his unwrought fancies.

We have not the presumption to attempt a criticism of this grand performance as a work of art. We are content to lack that æsthetic skill which would qualify us for such an office. He who knows enough of the mystery of any art to be competent to criticise, very likely knows too much to be deeply impressed and affected by what he analyzes so acutely. He whose attention is not distracted by a critical survey and scrutiny, can yield his whole mind and open his heart to the moral or sentiment conveyed through the representation.

And there is high and solemn teaching in this painting of the Babylonian monarch and his court, interrupted in the midst of their guilty banquet by the suggestions of conscience and by the message of God. On every one of those varied countenances a lesson is written which the beholder will do well to ponder.

We have, in this production of our gifted countryman, another added to the many proofs which the world pos-



sessed before, that the religious sentiment is the source of all the most finished and most enduring achievements of art. The costliest and most richly ornamented, the largest and most majestic piles that architecture has ever reared, have been designed to give suitable expression to the sentiment of reverence in the soul of man, to be an outward symbol of the highest and best conceptions, which prevailed at the time, of the Deity. And the attempt to give fit outward form to such conceptions has done more than all else to rouse genius, to quicken the inventive faculty, to render prolific the imagination. It is true that many of the edifices, which have been admired by age after age as models of art, were devoted to false worship—to the worship of idols, or of the sun and other inanimate objects, or of divinities whose attributes were cruelty and ferocity or voluptuousness. They were erected, it may be, for the service of religions whose particular ideas and practices we abhor. Still they were the result of the highest and purest conceptions that existed when and where they arose. And probably they arose from ideas which never were popularized, ideas which belonged exclusively to a few, while common minds groaned under the superstition of which they were made the instruments.

Similar remarks might be made, with equal truth, of music, of literature, of eloquence, of painting. Religion has invariably been the prompter and the theme of the master-efforts in all these arts. From religion the highest inspiration has been drawn. What a complete refutation do such facts afford of the shallow argument of some infidel writers, who allege that religion is the invention of priests and politicians, to subserve their own selfish purposes. Religion has, doubtless, frequently been perverted and misdirected by priests and politicians, and has been made by them a terrible engine in subjugating, oppressing and enslaving their fellow-men. But they could not originate the principle itself. They did not constitute human nature; they had no part in mingling the elements which are combined in the soul of man. They took man as they found him, created by God a believing, hoping, aspiring, devotional, religious being. They discerned in him the instinct of religion, a susceptibility to religious impression, a continual inclination to and longing for what is "unseen,

spiritual and eternal." And upon this foundation, laid by God in man's nature, they raised their superstructure. To this innate principle in the soul they addressed themselves, sure of a response. This catholic instinct in man they bent whichever way they chose. Some, moved by craft and ambition, taught men to bow down to the work of their own hands, to look to the priest as a mediator between them and their offended divinities, to lavish their wealth upon altar and oracle, to immolate their children and even themselves, in order to appease a supernal wrath; and the debasing lesson was too easily learned. Others, with better views, gave a more worthy direction to the affections of the heart, cultivated the reason in conjunction with the religious instincts, and made knowledge the handmaid of piety, and humanity and virtue its end and aim. All these diverse forms of religion, the corrupt and erroneous as well as the pure and enlightened, have been grounded upon a common basis in human nature, and they all furnish an argument, which no infidelity can gainsay, for the substantial truth of that which manifests itself in some form or other wherever man exists.

And the Bible too — what an exhaustless store-house is it of materials, scenes, personages, events, from which the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the orator, have drawn, and still continue to draw, to mould and beautify their works! Why is it that genius deems it his greatest triumph, and the surest passport to a "perpetual memory," to be able successfully to illustrate the pages of this holy record? The answer is, that this is *the book of the soul*. It deals with those simple and fundamental verities which belong to the universal intellect. It treats of man's highest interests. It sets forth catholic truth. All that is great in idea, all that is glorious in vision, all that is beatific in hope, all that is tender and elevated in sentiment, all that is dreadful in retribution, all that is mysterious in sin; the diversified drama of human life, the struggles of those passions which inhabit the human breast, the might and authority of conscience; the great world-epic of God's Providence — creation, redemption, judgment; the history of what has been, the prospective unfolding of what shall be, — these all meet in the Bible. And the most that genius can do, as age follows age, is to copy its sublime and affecting lessons

on the canvas or in solid stone, to translate its venerable diction into the various tongues of the earth, to transfer its awful sentiments to arched ceilings and "long-drawn aisles" and overhanging domes, to fortify argument with its declarations, and inspire hope with its promises, and solace grief with its peace, and strengthen human virtue with its commandments, monitions and menaces.

With how much truth, beauty and power the artist has drawn out the Scripture scene, in the picture which has given occasion to the foregoing remarks, those who view it will not fail to perceive. It is no longer "the dead letter," but "the living spirit" of the passage, which is before us. Every one must be struck with the great variety of objects in the picture. There is variety, to meet faithfully the Scripture description of the scene. There are strong contrasts, to illustrate the opposite passions that sway the different groups. Calm fortitude, profound and tender veneration, terror and dismay, distress of mind, malevolent hate, bitter envy and jealousy, reckless debauchery, timid and abject superstition, these all are depicted in the faces and attitudes of the several figures. And yet, with all this variety, there is that unity of impression and effect which only true genius can produce. We are introduced into the banquet-hall of the palace. The first excitement, produced by the apparition of the hand and of the mysterious writing on the wall, has subsided. The king has sent "to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the sooth-sayers." They have confessed their inability to "read the writing and to make known to the king the interpretation thereof," and they are represented standing together in the foreground, on the right of the spectator, with all the bitterness of expression which their failure would be likely to impart to their countenances. "The queen, by reason of the words of the king and his lords, has come into the banquet-house," and has advised to send for Daniel. Supported by two handmaids she stands beside the king, who is seated on his throne, on the left of the foreground. The throne is ornamented with the carved head of an elephant, and behind it is the wreathed serpent, appropriate Oriental symbols. Above the king's head is seen the golden candlestick, and near him on the floor are some of the golden vessels of which his father had despoiled the



temple at Jerusalem. Thus arranged, the royal couple on the left, and the magicians on the right, their whole attention is given to the Prophet, who stands in the middle of the foreground, and with his left hand points to the writing on the wall, while he opens to Belshazzar the decree of Jehovah against him and his kingdom. A little removed from the foreground, between Daniel and the magicians, is a group in shadow, whose thoughtful and melancholy countenances and devout attitudes distinguish them as "children of the captivity," exiles from their country, answering to the description of those "children in whom was no blemish, but well-favored," whom Nebuchadnezzar had commanded the master of his household to select from the conquered Israelites, and train them "to stand before the king." One of them, a female, is kneeling in the posture of adoration, the softest of all lights shed upon a head and upon hands which correspond to the Scripture epithet, "well-favored." Another female is reaching forward to touch the garment of the Prophet, whom these captives reverence not merely as a man, but as the representative of their country and faith. A slave near them is pointing triumphantly to the precious vessels, the trophies of his master's power, and the mementos of their subdued and enslaved condition. The middle of the hall is occupied by the tables at which the guests are seated. With tipsy jollity and voluptuous abandonment these "lords and princes, with their wives and concubines," drink wine out of the vessels of the Lord's house, and sing hymns in praise of their false gods, forgetful of everything except present gratification, and strangers to the passions which are agitating the groups in the foreground. The incident of the hand-writing has deep meaning only for those whose consciences were prepared to receive the lesson it conveyed. A gallery, supported by pillars of a plain and massive style of architecture, is filled with spectators looking down upon the principal personages with various emotions. In the distance is elevated a golden image. On the steps leading to it figures are seen ascending and descending; others have reached the platform and are prostrating themselves before the senseless idol.

The majestic form of the Prophet, pointing to the mysterious characters on the wall, while with calmness, simpli-

city and directness he interprets their meaning, needing no violent passion to give energy to his expression, and no contortion of body, not even the clinching of a hand, to make his presence and figure commanding and impressive, — what could be more nobly conceived or more truthfully represented! Who, we are prompted to ask ourselves, as we look upon this sublime figure, who is, in fact, the master of that banqueting-hall? Is it the monarch, who has forgotten his vessels of gold and silver, his luxurious viands, his delicious draughts, and all the instruments of sensual pleasure, and who sits there, with despair depicted in his face, listening, as a doomed man, to the words of a captive? Is it the queen, whose beauty grows pale and sickly with what she hears announced, who leans with one hand upon a tottering throne, and with the other grasps the hand of her female slave? Is it either of those magicians and soothsayers, whose false wisdom has proved of no avail, whose arts have been foiled, who have been defeated and put to shame in their own field, and whose distorted countenances, exaggerated by hateful passions, by envy and rage and chagrin, can only stare, with impotent malice, at their rival? Is it the burnished idol elevated in the distance, and towards which the confounded ruler of Babylon turns no entreating and expecting eye? Is it not rather the man of God, who, with no outward trappings of power, with no effort at effect, but with a quiet air, and with the confidence and courage which truth inspires, pronounces the words which find a way to the royal conscience?

The whole picture presents an impressive illustration of a people who had been humbled in every possible way, whose independence had been destroyed, whose city had fallen into the hands of their enemies, who had themselves been carried away captive, and in an idolatrous court were obliged to look on and see the sacred vessels of their religion profaned by Heathen revellers; and who, under these circumstances of degradation, achieved a most remarkable moral triumph by the power of truth. They saw their Prophet respected and consulted, with fear and trembling, by their conscience-stricken oppressors. And now, eighteen centuries after the time when they finally ceased to be a nation, while the scattered remnants of them survive as wanderers in all lands, there arises, in these ends of the

earth, an artist, who, with a master's hand, reproduces one of the most interesting scenes of Jewish story; unites, on one canvas, the picture of their wrongs and of their triumph, and adds another to the many pledges which the world has already taken, that the acts and experience of that peculiar people shall continue in the memory of all periods of time, to verify the august Providence of God

W. P. L.

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#### ART. VI.—FOURIERISM.\*

THE first of the works, the titles of which are given below, was published by Mr. Brisbane in 1840. At that time he was almost the only advocate in this country of the doctrine of Associated Industry according to Fourier. Now, it is reported that there are in the United States seventeen thousand persons ready to enter these Associations. Several communities have been already established, more or less in accordance with the Fourier idea. In all parts of our country the attention of the people has been called to the subject, and a good degree of interest has been awakened in respect to it. Conventions have been held and lectures delivered in Boston, New York, Pittsburg, and many other places. Mr. Greeley, the editor of one of the leading New York prints, having become a convert to the system, has devoted himself and used his paper to extend

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\* 1. *Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Reorganization of Industry.* By ALBERT BRISBANE. Philadelphia: 1840. 12mo. pp. 480.

2. *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, &c.* By ALBERT BRISBANE. New York: 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.

3. *The Tribune.* New York. Edited by HORACE GREELEY.

4. *The Phalanx.* New York. A weekly paper, devoted to the Doctrines of Association.

5. *The Present.* New York. Edited by WILLIAM H. CHANNING.

6. *A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier.* By PARKE GODWIN. New York: 1844. 8vo. pp. 120.

7. *A Lecture on Association, in its Connexion with Education, delivered before the New England Fourier Society, in Boston, February 29, 1844.* By JOHN S. DWIGHT, of Brook Farm Association. Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 22.

8. *A Lecture on Association, in its Connexion with Religion, delivered before the New England Fourier Society, in Boston, March 7, 1844.* By CHARLES A. DANA, of Brook Farm Association. Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 19.



the knowledge of its principles. Besides the *Tribune*, the *Phalanx* and the *Present* have inculcated these doctrines. The latter has been suspended, but the *Phalanx* continues to be published, and is, we suppose, the principal organ of this movement. All this shows how strong a hold the doctrine of Association has taken on the public mind, and makes it our duty to give our readers some account of its principles, and some means of forming a judgment concerning its truth, utility and probable success.

Charles Fourier was born at Besançon, in Franche Comte, April 7, 1772. His father was a merchant in that place. In his youth he was remarkable for his fondness for study, and his taste for music and flowers. At eighteen he entered a commercial house in Lyons, and travelled, as its agent, in different states of Europe. Three years after, his father died, and left him an estate of sixteen thousand dollars, but before the end of the year it was lost in the siege and ransacking of Lyons. During these times of tumult Fourier was condemned to the guillotine, but escaped from the city, though afterward, to save his life, he was compelled to enlist in the army. In 1799 he entered a commercial house again, and while engaged in the pursuits of trade, had his attention directed to those social evils, to find the cure of which became the darling study of his future life. During this year he made what his followers regard as his great discovery, by detecting the fundamental laws of Association.

In 1808 Fourier published his first work, called the "Theory of the Four Movements." Little attention was paid to it, and becoming dissatisfied with it himself, he withdrew it from circulation, and spent seven years more in completing and correcting it. Just as he was about to print it again, Buonaparte's return from Elba threw France into commotion, and disturbed all his plans, and Fourier contented himself with quietly pursuing his studies and elaborating his views more and more, with scarcely a hope of finding any to take an interest in them, and without sympathy, encouragement or the chance of a public hearing.

But in 1816 an event occurred, which always will occur to any man who is deeply convinced of the truth of his own system. He found a disciple. A stray copy of his

first volume fell into the hands of M. Just Muiron, a gentleman of Besançon. He became deeply interested in it, but as the book was published without Fourier's name, it was two years before he succeeded in finding the author. When he learned Fourier's name and residence, he wrote to him, visited him, encouraged him to publish his complete work, and assisted him with money for that purpose. In 1822 the two volumes were published, under the title of 'A Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association.' But still little or no interest was taken in it, and the reviews could not be induced to notice it. Five or six years passed by, and no attention was paid to these new theories of life. In truth the time had not yet come for them, for before the advantages of the new social system could be understood, the evils and defects of the present organization of society must be felt. People will not trouble themselves about a remedy until they are aware of the reality and danger of the disease. Till then, the proposed cure will appear worse than the present evil. And thus because few had reflected upon the present needs of society, or understood the evils flowing out of the defective social system, the new theory, with its phalanxes, its attractive industry, its supposed destruction of the family and individual home, seemed a preposterous and impracticable dream, not worthy even of attention. Fourier, by the advice of his friends, published in 1829 an abridgment of his large work, but it was received like the other, with absolute silence and neglect.

But the necessary preparation for a constructive system like that of Fourier — which is a general conviction of the need of something new and better, the preparation which in this country has been afforded by the various reforms of the past few years, was effected in France by the labors of the St. Simonians. This sect, inspired by an ardent zeal, preached everywhere the necessity of a reform, and pointed out the evils of the present social arrangement. Its missionaries overran France, and excited, especially among the young men, great attention. But the insufficiency of St. Simonianism as a plan of reorganization was soon apparent, and this led its disciples to look around for something more satisfactory. Many believed that they found this in the writings of Fourier, and a weekly journal was now commenced to diffuse his views of Associated Industry. Thus

St. Simon prepared the way for Fourier. A joint stock company was soon formed for the purpose of realizing the new scheme, and one gentleman, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, bought an estate for one hundred thousand dollars for the express purpose of trying the experiment. Fourier, we are told, advised caution and recommended that they should not go on until a sufficient sum was subscribed to ensure success. But his more sanguine followers would not wait, and the consequence was the failure, for want of means, of the enterprise.

In 1835 Fourier published part of another work, entitled "False Industry." Before it was completed he died, in the year 1837, sixty-five years of age. He was a thoughtful and a benevolent man. His life appears to have been free from vice, and he devoted himself, with his whole energy, to the study of those plans and methods which he believed necessary for the happiness of humanity.

What then was his object? What did he propose to do? What are the evils in the present social system which need to be corrected, and which may make this new organization of society desirable?

Without overlooking or undervaluing the advantages of our present civilization, without joining in any extravagant condemnation of the present social system, no thoughtful person, we suppose, will deny that there are great social evils existing among us, for which society, as at present constituted, fails to provide any remedy. Modern civilization, in the old world, has resulted in evils and dangers of the most appalling nature. In England, for example, we have the monstrous paradox of a nation of enormous and growing wealth, a large and increasing portion of which is nevertheless ground under the hardest poverty. We have a nation, which during its continental wars was able to raise easily three or four hundred millions of dollars annually, and yet the great majority of whose population have scarcely food to eat or clothes to wear; a nation, whose labor-saving machinery does the work of many millions of men, and yet whose children, scarcely out of the cradle, have to work day and night, kept awake by the whip, and crippled in their tender limbs, by unnatural toil. It is a nation overflowing in wealth, doing the business of the world, yet containing tens of thousands who would gladly



labor all day long for food and clothes, and can get no work to do. It is a nation in fine, to use Mr. Carlyle's striking illustration, in which a horse is sure of comfortable support for the work he does, but a man who is willing to work may starve. Surely there is something wrong in this state of things.

The same evils exist, in a less degree indeed, in this country. Then look at other evils—consider the unjust division of profits, the low rates at which female labor is remunerated; consider the specific social evils of intemperance, war, slavery, licentiousness; consider the abuses of trade, of the professions, the evils in church and state. As we remark these things, society seems radically diseased. We are disposed to exclaim, with the Prophet, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." The Prophet did not mean to be taken in the absolute strictness of the letter. Neither do we. There were good things, good customs, good men, good hopes, good efforts, in his day, as well as bad ones. So there are now. But in society we find disease, prevailing disease. There is not the color of good and perfect health anywhere. We are none of us quite well. There is a languor in our spirits, a drowsiness in our interests, a coldness in our love, a death in our life. Who has not felt it? Who does not feel it? That there is something wrong in our social condition is abundantly testified by the fact, that there is a selfish coldness and barrenness, a want of interest and joy, in the wisest, and easiest, and most virtuous circles of society. Who is happy? Who is perfectly *at home* in his position, and feels that he wants nothing more?

Granting, then, the existence of social evil, we ask next—what is its cause, and what its cure? To these questions there are different answers given by different classes of reformers. Some of these have been confounded with the answer of the Associationists, but ought, in fairness, to be distinguished from them.

Some reformers say, that *ignorance* is the cause, and that *knowledge* will be the cure for social evil. People mean to do right, wish to do right, but they do not understand what right is. They do not know how they ought to live. They wish for light, but cannot get it. They do not know the natural laws of the body and the soul, of

nature and man. Knowledge is the cure for social evil.

Now, undoubtedly, ignorance is one great cause of evil. Men as honorable, and true, and kind as any that live are continually doing wrong and mean things ignorantly. For want of liberal knowledge men are narrow, bigoted, persecuting, and tyrannical. This is all true, and a great deal more.

But it will not do to say that ignorance is the *only* cause of social evil, for men very often know what is right, but will not do it. It is not knowledge, but *will*, which is often wanted. In all languages and all lands it has passed into a proverb, that

“We know what’s right, and we approve it too,  
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue.”

How can any one say that ignorance is the only cause of evil, who sees the simple fact that no one acts up to the light he already has?

Another man says, *government* is the cause of all social evil. Only give us a good government, good laws, a good tariff, a good bank, let our party win the election, and all will go well enough. Government and laws influence society undoubtedly, but not so much as has been thought. The laws are the effect of the condition of society, more than its cause. Solon, the lawgiver, being asked long ago whether he had given the Athenians the best possible laws, replied, “*No; but as good as they can bear.*”

All the laws ever made, cannot make a base people noble, a cowardly people brave, an intemperate people temperate. Laws are good on moral subjects, chiefly to restrain the vicious from openly displaying their vice and putting needless temptations in the paths of the innocent. They are not armies, they can make no conquests from the territory of sin; they are rather like fortresses to retain what has already been conquered.

Another man says, the *institution of property* is the cause of all social vice. Have everything in common, and there would be no more covetousness, nor envy, nor greed.

This doctrine of community of property is called *Communism*, and was the doctrine of the St. Simonians. It is also the doctrine of Owen and his followers, in England and America. There are communities in this country

established on this basis, but this is not the Fourier doctrine. It ought to be distinctly understood that the Fourierites, in all their arrangements, acknowledge and maintain the right of individual property, and assert in the strongest language that "a community of property is the grave of individual liberty." Property they regard as the outward expression of personal and individual character. Property, they say, is accumulated labor, it is the labor of the past; and if I have a right to the fruits of my present labor, I have a right to the results of my past labors. Fourier regards the idea of property as an indestructible element of human nature, and his object is, not to expel it, but to consecrate it, limit it in its operation, and give it a beneficent direction.

Another class of reformers say, that the *Church* is the cause of all social evil. The Christian Church, they say, as now constituted, opposes all reform, and is the bulwark of all evil institutions. It sanctifies and protects the false usages of society, because it does not rebuke and expose them. It puts men's consciences to sleep, and so long as they will believe its creed, and go through with its ceremonies, and pay for its support, it allows them to indulge their selfishness and cruelty toward their fellow-men.

If such language as this has been held by some of the speakers at the Fourier meetings, here and in other places, it is not the language of Fourierism, nor of its authentic teachers. Fourier has no quarrel with the Church. His system gives a place for any and all the churches. In the "phalanx" churches of all denominations may find a place, just as they do in our present towns and cities. Fourierism, we repeat, attacks neither Christianity nor the Christian churches.

Let us look, however, for a moment, at this charge now brought against the Church. We would not defend it from any just accusation. The Church is not as good as it ought to be. We know that very well. It is too sectarian, too intolerant, too much bent on securing Orthodoxy, and too careless in securing what a modern writer calls Orthopraxy. It sets right thinking above right living. It tolerates slavery, as it formerly tolerated the slave-trade. The same General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church which gravely decided that a child's dance was a sin, refused to pro-



nounce that slavery was a sin. No wonder that zealous reformers, seeing these things, should declare the Church the bulwark of slavery, and fancy in their haste that it is necessary to overthrow the Church in order to overthrow the social evils which it sanctifies.

Nevertheless, even granting that the Church is the bulwark of slavery, it by no means follows that in order to overthrow slavery, we must overthrow the Church. When the allied armies approached Paris, they found the heights of Montmartre defended by the troops of Marmont. These heights were the bulwark of the city. It could not be taken so long as they were occupied by the French Marshal. But did they therefore try to overthrow them? Did they endeavor to batter down these hills? No, *they took possession of them*. Reformers who believe the Church to be the bulwark of social evils, should endeavor to take possession of it, and not try to batter it down. The Church can never be overthrown. Its roots run deep into the nature of man, its rocky summits rise in indestructible strength, supported by the everlasting needs of the human soul. It cannot be overthrown, but it may be occupied by the forces of liberty, and instead of being the bulwark of despotism, become the fortress and defence of freedom.

To accuse the Church of being the cause of social evil shows extreme prejudice. We have only to travel through the Western States to find towns containing often eighteen hundred inhabitants, where as yet there is neither any church nor any Christian institutions. Yet there is no lack of social evil there. These places are far from being the homes of good-will and honesty. In proportion to the absence of the church is the presence of gaming, drinking, lynch-law and bowie-knives. And let some poor Methodist preacher, a man of ardor and sincere devotion, come into these towns, carrying all his wardrobe in one saddle-bag, and all his library in the other; and after a few months, in which he has preached and prayed and visited, a change becomes apparent to all eyes. Vice retires and hides herself. Riot turns to order, tumult to quietness. Good men come forward and unite together, and the coming of the Church has been the cure, not the cause, of social evil.

The Church is not as good as she might be, but she is infinitely better than the world. We speak generally, of

course. There are exceptions, we know. But as a general thing, the Church is in advance of the world, far in advance. The Church is our mother; she is the mother of those who abuse and rail at her, because she does not at once see into the feasibility of their plans and the usefulness of their projects. But they themselves, these bold reformers, drew from her breast the earliest nourishment of their moral nature; in her arms they spelled their first rudiments of goodness; by her hands they have been supported in their first tottering attempts to walk alone in the ways of virtue. She is our mother. To us Unitarians indeed she has been rather a stern one. We are not her favorite children. She almost disowns us, and would shut us out of her family. But it were ingratitude to deny that we owe her much, very much; and let not those who fancy they have outgrown her creed and can improve on her practices, forget that she has helped them to arrive at this stature.

We now come to the Fourier explanation of the cause of social evil. It lies in the structure of society itself. False social arrangements; the individual household; a want of union, harmony, associated action; here lies the root of all our woe. No reform can ever thoroughly succeed while our present social organization continues. At a certain point your Temperance Reform, your Peace Societies, your Benevolent Societies are obliged to stop. They can go no further. But organize society on its true basis, and this one reform will include all others. You will not need a Temperance Society, nor a Peace Society. Association will put an end to slavery, intemperance, war, licentiousness and poverty, all together.

Man was made for society. He was made for social organization. This is a law of his nature, which cannot be violated with impunity. Humanity is a whole, of which each individual is an organic and necessary part, having a work to do, not for himself alone, but also for the whole. Man therefore has never existed without society, any more than without religion; yet society, like religion, may be more or less perfect. Now it is a remarkable fact, which Fourier noticed, and which lies at the basis of his theory, that *modern civilization has disorganized society*. In the feudal system, society was organized. From the serf

to the king, every man had his place, his relation, and his duty toward every other man. In Hindostan, society is organized by four castes. In Egypt, it was organized by seven. In Lacedæmon, an organization having reference entirely to a military education covered the whole state. All of these systems of organization were defective in their aims and methods, and injurious in their results. But modern society has no system of associated action at all. Every man chooses his own work, and does it in his own way, without helping his neighbor or being helped by him. Each family, in the same way, is isolated. The modern idea of freedom, carried out in religion into an extreme individualism which has broken up the Church, has in like manner, in social life, resulted in an individualism which has broken up social organization. The problem to be solved by the religious reformer is, to restore the Church, and yet retain individual liberty; the problem for the social reformer is, to restore a social organization, preserving in like manner the essential independence of the individual and the family. This problem, the Fourierites believe, is solved in their system. By protecting the right of personal property, and giving to each family its private home in the association, they believe they have preserved freedom, while they have gained union.

To show more plainly the evils flowing out of our present social arrangements, and the way in which Fourierism proposes to correct them, let us look at three points; Division of Labor, Competition in Trade, and the Individual Household.

Modern civilization prides itself upon its application of the principle of division of labor. The political economists show how immensely production is increased by it. Yet even these writers admit that it has its evils. A man who is occupied all his life in making the thirtieth part of a pin, is evidently not living as he ought. His mind and soul are narrowed and cramped. His work does not enlarge and ennoble him as it should. This is the most obvious evil of division of labor, and it applies to all pursuits. He who works only with his mind, he who spends his life in writing reviews or essays, is narrowed by that exclusive labor almost as much as the pin-maker by his. We all need a wide and varied experience, a diversified culture. We



need to educate, by work, our head, heart and hands. But as society now is, only one part or faculty of our nature is educated. That becomes preternaturally active, and is monstrously developed, like the left leg of a fencing-master, while our other powers wither away. As Mr. Emerson expresses it, in his Phi Beta Kappa oration, "the state of society is one in which the members have suffered amputation from the trunk, and strut about, so many walking monsters,—a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man. The priest becomes a form, the attorney a statute-book, the mechanic a machine, the sailor a rope of the ship."

As a consequence of this, also, work becomes uninteresting and odious. After we have become thoroughly familiar with one occupation, and have mastered all its details, we need variety. It is very tiresome to spend one's whole life in doing what can be thoroughly learned in a week's time. The world was made so wide and various, that we might acquire from it a diversified culture.\* Change, and progress through change, are evidently the wants of our nature.

Fourier does not give up the principle of division of labor, nor renounce its advantages. It is carried out more thoroughly in association than in our present arrangements. This will be especially the case with female labor. One woman will be engaged in preparing pastry, another in cooking vegetables, another in cooking meat, one in washing fine linen, one in ironing sheets, another muslins. One man will devote himself to the cultivation of stone-fruit, and another to seed-fruit. But while labor is thus distributed into more minute details, the evils of such division are avoided by frequent change from one work to another. Each individual may, in the course of the day, be engaged in from five to thirty different occupations. This will give variety of culture, will break up the monotony of existence, enlarge continually the extent of attainment, and lighten toil. Such diversity of labor would be an advantage even to those whose work, as society is now constituted, is most favorable. How much it would help the physician, lawyer,

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\* "Dass wir uns in sie zerstreuen  
Darum ist die Welt so gross."—GOETHE.



merchant or clergyman, to work with his hands a part of the day! Mind and body would be both refreshed by it. How much more would be the gain of those who are obliged to spend their whole life in carrying bricks, in digging cellars, in washing clothes, to have this opportunity afforded for diversified and more intellectual employment.

But this diversity of occupation is but one of the modes by which industry is rendered attractive in this system. Another is the plan of *social* labor. No one works alone. All industry is distributed into groups, that is, small bodies of laborers devoted to some particular employment. At every change of employment, the laborer leaves one group and enters another. To this attraction of *society*, that of *emulation* is added. Each member of a group is anxious to excel the others in the quantity and quality of his work, and each group, in like manner, is engaged in emulation with other groups. The evils of emulation are avoided by the continual passage of an individual from one group to another; so that those who were just now his rivals are now his mates. If any of our readers remember the pleasure they enjoyed when they went out with other children to gather berries, and how hard they tried to get the fullest basket, they can imagine the attraction which may be given to industry by the principle of groups.

Let us now consider the second point — competition in trade. The evils arising from want of organization appear most evidently when we consider this other great principle of modern society, — freedom in the direction of industry. We have adopted the free trade principle in its fullest extent. We say, leave trade and industry to regulate themselves. We say to Government, — '*laissez faire*, let us alone. These things will regulate themselves. Labor will go where it is wanted. Let the career be laid open to talent. Competition will develop energy. Interest will be the safest guide in deciding the direction of industry.'

But is this so? It might be so, provided man was a being of reason and calm calculation only, with no passions to blind his judgment. We make laws to prevent truckmen from beating their horses unmercifully. Why so? It is decidedly the interest of a man not to abuse his horse; why not leave it to that? Because we know that anger and brutish obstinacy are often stronger than interest, and

something more is needed to protect the poor beast from ill treatment than the calculating reason of his master. So undoubtedly it is for the interest of the southern planter to treat his slaves well, and not overwork them. But this, we know, does not always protect them from his caprice, violence, and blind love of present gain. Just so as regards industry. Some departments of industry are crowded, and others comparatively neglected. We have for example, in Boston, two or three hundred lawyers. Does any one suppose that these are all needed to do the legal business of the place? A fifth or tenth part of the number would be sufficient. The profession is chosen by young men, not because more lawyers are needed, but because it is a profession attractive to an ambitious spirit. A lawyer is a gentleman, has influence in society, and has the best opportunity for political distinction. But as some two hundred of the number are not wanted, they must be unproductive and unemployed. Yet all must be supported, and live expensively, like gentlemen. Consequently, the little work which they do must be paid for in fees, disproportioned to its actual value, and many of them are compelled by their situation to promote lawsuits, and make themselves business, and it becomes the interest of the whole body to increase, instead of diminishing, the expense and the amount of litigation.

The same is true in regard to commercial pursuits. These are, also, attractive to the ambitious. They offer the hope of wealth, influence, ease, and a high social standing. Consequently, thousands of young men, who ought to remain in the country and cultivate the ground, enter the cities every year to engage in trade. There is an unnecessary multiplication of those who come between the producer and the consumer, adding nothing to the value of the commodity. It is not too much to say that a quarter of those now engaged in commerce in our cities could do the work which all do. Consequently, the consumer is obliged to support three-quarters of them, who are thus leading an unproductive, if not useless life. A large proportion of those in all kinds of commercial business are sitting idle behind their counters a great part of the day. Where they attend to fifty customers, they might as easily attend to one or two hundred. But as they

must be supported, it is necessary for them, somehow or other, to get as much profit out of their fifty customers as they would otherwise do out of more. Hence all the tricks of trade, the thousand deceptions practised upon the ignorance of the purchaser, the arts of puffing, the various devices to attract buyers, which, when not absolutely dishonest, are at least unworthy and degrading.

Is it in the order of nature that hundreds of young men, in the prime of life and strength, should stand behind the counters doing woman's work? Poor women, who depend on their labor, are obliged to toil half the night at the needle for a miserable compensation, because the situations which they ought to fill, in all kinds of retail business, are taken from them by men who should be ploughing the fields.

On the "let alone" principle, capital will always be able to take advantage of labor, and for this simple reason, that capital *can wait*, labor cannot. At the great fire in New York, forty or fifty dollars were paid for the use of a dray. Capital could not wait then, and therefore it was at the mercy of labor. This was the exception which proves the rule. The rule is, that labor cannot wait, and is therefore at the mercy of capital. When a man must have work to-day, or go without bread for himself and family, he is not in a position to make a fair bargain.

Capital is able also to look about, and take advantage of all the circumstances which will enable it to reduce the wages of labor. The large clothes-dealers in the cities have their agents in the country, who get work done at the lowest prices. A gentleman told us the other day, that he saw the daughter of a respectable farmer making shirts for eleven cents apiece for one of these dealers. He asked her whether she thought that a sufficient price. "No," said she, "if I were obliged to support myself, I could not do it by this work; but I merely employ time which otherwise I should not use." It had not occurred to her, that she was thus lowering the price paid to those who did depend on their labor for subsistence. But this is only one out of a multitude of examples, to show that the principle of competition does not regulate itself as it ought; that the "let alone" principle does not produce results which are in accordance with truth and justice. The principle of free



competition is a good one for the strong, the sagacious, for those who have talent, means, energy; but it gives no chance to the weak, the poor, the friendless. It develops great energy, and produces great results; but it makes one part of society the tools and instruments by which another part may carve out their way to fortune.

Instead of competition, Fourier would substitute co-operation. His system gives to capital, to talent, and to energy, a fair compensation, but it guarantees a just recompense to industry. It puts an end at once to unproductive labor. There will be no more merchants, lawyers, or physicians in an association than are really needed. They will not be tempted to use any of the arts of competition, for they will be recompensed in proportion to the actual value of the work which they do. An immense economy will result from this single source. Moreover, there will be no danger in an association of any one department of labor being crowded, while another is neglected. All industry will be made attractive, none will be considered menial, for each member of a community will take part in such a variety of labor that the usual distinctions arising from occupation cannot find place. In selecting their work, individuals will follow natural, instead of artificial and false motives. Each will select the varieties of occupation which suit his own natural tastes, capacities and tendencies, instead of consulting his ambition, his vanity, his love of ease, his love of accumulation. And as these tastes are confessedly various, every variety of occupation will be chosen.

Let us now look at the third point—the individual household. The most obvious disadvantage of this is its wastefulness. Three hundred families, as society is now arranged, require three hundred separate houses, kitchens, fires, cooking utensils, and women to cook. If they are farming families, they require also three hundred small farms, three hundred barns and teams, and innumerable walls and fences.

Fourierism will bring all these families together into one household, and one building, conveniently arranged. Instead of three hundred kitchens and fires, it will have four or five large kitchens by which the cooking can be done, and the whole edifice warmed. Instead of three hundred



fire-places and cooking-stoves, it will have extensive kitchen-ranges, large boilers, and the best machinery for facilitating culinary operations. Instead of three hundred cooks, it will have a few experienced ones, who will relieve each other by a change of work ; instead of three hundred poor teams, standing idle half the time, it will have the requisite number, and of the best quality ; instead of the walls and fences now needed, it will have a few extensive hedges ; instead of making its purchases at retail, paying to traders half the profits of its labor, it will make them at wholesale, and in the most economical manner.

These are but a part of the economies of association. Other advantages are, that it will extend to all its members the comforts and luxuries which now are necessarily confined to the wealthy ; that it will abridge the amount of drudgery, that it will give to all the advantage of every new discovery in art, architecture and social comfort, that it will combine the advantages of city and rural life, that it will tend to cultivate the mass of men by bringing them into natural and pleasant relations with the educated and refined. Meantime, Fourier does not propose to infringe the privacy of home, or the sacredness of the family. In the phalanx each one can be as private as he will, he can have his rooms and suites of rooms for himself and family as he does now.

These examples illustrate, to some extent, the leading ideas of this system. We have no space here to enter at all into its details. We refer our readers to the works mentioned at the beginning of this article, especially that by Mr. Godwin, which is the most clear and comprehensive, and the pamphlet of Mr. Brisbane, which contains the most numerous details. We can merely add now a few criticisms.

To pronounce any decided opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the system, or its practicability, is not our intention. The tree will be known by its fruits. It is the work of earnest men, who are endeavoring to correct acknowledged evils. They deserve to be treated with respect. Those who would oppose these plans by ridicule and sneers, are, as it seems to us, not acting a wise part. If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought. These are builders, not destroyers ; their work is to con-

struct, not to pull down; their principles, if false, will therefore prove themselves so immediately, by not working well in practice. These men do not come to oppose or destroy any of our institutions; they merely wish to establish better ones, which they expect will swallow up quietly and peacefully whatever is evil. They are, we repeat it, not destructive, but constructive reformers. If there have been those at their conventions and other meetings who have attacked church and state, this is not the spirit of Fourier or his leading interpreters. It was natural that radicals, who have been in the habit of denouncing and attacking society, should bring the old spirit of destruction with them when they became Associationists, and continue for a time to use their old language. But the spirit of Fourierism is essentially a reconciling, pacific, and productive one.

For ourselves, seeing and feeling the manifold evils of society, we are ready to say "God speed" to every earnest and conscientious attempt to remove them. We are by no means convinced that the system of Fourier is able to correct these evils. But let those who are so convinced, go forward and try their plans. Let us prove *all things*, and hold fast what commends itself as good.

There is, however, one danger to which Fourierites are exposed, and one tendency which we have observed in their discussions, which we feel bound to warn them of, before closing this article. The danger is of expecting from a new outward arrangement, what no such arrangement can ever accomplish; of looking to outward forms for a cure of the evils which have their root in the soul and heart. The tendency is to throw all the blame of social evil on society, and to underrate individual responsibility and ability. We do not think that these tendencies are necessary to the system, nor do we believe them universal with its advocates, but we know that they are common among them.

"Society itself," say many Associationists, "is the cause of the evils which exist in it. Society is the culprit, individuals are the victims. Social usages are all wrong, and individuals are compelled, by the heaviest penalties, by loss of bread, and loss of character, to do as others do."

That the customs of society are very peremptory, very

despotic, and that these are often very bad customs, who can doubt? How hard, for instance, for a young man at the South to refuse to fight a duel, if he be challenged; and how hard here at the North for a lawyer or a trader to do business differently from the usual way, even though it seem unjust to him. How hard, in private life, to live more simply than others are living; to do your own work, clean your own boots, sweep your own sidewalk, dine on bread and milk. Differ from your neighbors in any of these particulars, and what a storm of censure and wonder arises. 'What a singular person! what affectation; how visionary! why don't he do as other people do?' This is the lightest penalty, — to have sharp and venomous tongues employed about you everywhere. But if you are any way dependent on the public favor; if you are a teacher, and deem it your duty to admit a colored child into your school; or a preacher, and walk with a colored man through the streets; or a physician, and commit any of the like enormities; or an editor, and admit any opinion or sentiment foreign to the tastes of your readers; how quickly do scholars, patients, parishioners, subscribers, take their leave, and with them the bread you were putting into your children's mouths. Society, we admit, is somewhat tyrannical.

And yet, after all, society is only strong because we are weak. She is terrible, because we are cowards. Let a man take the course which he believes *right*, be it ever so unusual and unpopular, and what harm can the uproar of society do him? It is "the crackling of thorns under a pot." It has no strength, no force — all this clamor. Live quietly on a few years, and if you *are* right, society will soon be on your side. One man who sees a truth, who does a right action, is stronger than all men together who do not see it, or refuse to do it. The strength of a world cannot drive him from his position if he be brave and faithful. The least grain of truth will force its way in a very short time and make itself known and revered. When Coleridge first wrote, his writings were triumphantly pronounced to be perfectly unintelligible. Wordsworth's poems were welcomed by the critics with the declaration, "This will never do." Carlyle's writings at first scarcely found in all England five approving readers. But there

was gold, fine gold, in all these men, and what a different verdict has the world already pronounced. They were not afraid to go on their own way, a strange and new path, and already multitudes are following them. It is just so in morals. A few years since respectable and good people would sometimes go out of the church when Dr. Follen got up to preach, because he was an abolitionist, and now Dr. Follen is revered wherever his name is spoken.

The punishment of starvation seems rather more difficult to bear than that of unpopularity. But we speak metaphorically when we talk of starving. We can live on very little ; not as other people live, but comfortably, with good health and better spirits. In this country it is not easy for a man with two hands to starve. To dine on apples, or meal, or potatoes, seems a dreadful thing to us, to be sure ; but with the seasoning of a good conscience, one might, we think, find them palatable. And then, besides, such an one has "meat to eat" that most of us "know not of." Those of us who have always been propped up on cushions, who have had every thing to our hand, comforts and luxuries always, know nothing of the strength, freedom and love, which he acquires who has been compelled to live without any of these, for conscience' sake, and finds he *can* live so and yet be happy. We reverence, we almost envy such a man's experience. Nothing can crush him hereafter, nothing affright. He knows the worst that men can do him, and it is little. He is perfectly independent therefore. He can say to his parishioners, patients, customers, subscribers, clients, when they are offended with his honesty and leave him, — "go in peace." He is not angry with them, for they have not hurt him. It seems to us that this is even better than the comforts of a Community.

Then as to that other assertion which we hear so often, "that *society* is to blame for all these social evils ; that society is responsible, and individuals are victims." We do not exactly understand how society can be responsible and individuals not so. It has been well said, "wherever there is a sin, there must be a sinner." What is society but an assemblage of individuals ? How can the individuals be all right, taken separately, and yet taken collectively be all wrong ? How can every single grain of sand in a heap be white, and yet the whole heap be black ? What



are these customs of society, which tyrannize over us, but the aggregate of the habits of each one of us? If every individual would give up his bad habits, society would very soon give up its bad customs. We confess, we do not like this way of throwing off the responsibility from ourselves upon society; taking great credit for our denunciation of social abuses, and taking no blame for practising them ourselves. Such a proceeding deadens the conscience. No one feels that he is to blame for these sins of society; on the contrary, he feels very virtuous for having talked against them and denounced them. This is not a promising state of things.

Reformers, who speak in this general way of the sins of the world and the immoralities of society, would do well to take a lesson from that Church of Christ which they consider so impotent and so behind the age. She has always addressed herself to the conscience, not of society — for society has no conscience — but of individuals. She has said, “the *soul* that sinneth, *it* shall die.” She has placed the solitary soul before the bar of God; she has taken it away from society and caused it to feel that it was not to compare itself with others, nor excuse itself by their example and custom, but to compare itself with God’s standard, and judge itself by his holy law.

And this brings us to the consideration of what we believe to be the deepest cause of all social evil. It is SIN — individual sin. The profound cause of all outward misery and crime is inward; it is our selfishness, our want of love, our want of faith in God, our unwillingness to obey him. As long as we are selfish in our soul, so long will the outward world be full of misery. No external arrangements, no improvement of social mechanism, no constitutions, or laws, can produce outward peace and happiness, while the black root of evil is in the heart. We have in this world one great work to do; it is, to struggle against and conquer this evil principle within us, and nail it to the cross of Christ. Until we have done this, we carry a devil within us, and we shall have a hell around us. When we have done it, God dwells within us, and heaven blooms around us. If we wish then to reform society, we must first of all reform ourselves. To see a man undertaking to reform the world, who is full of vanity,

who is a sophist, who uses low arts, who is self-willed, malignant, bitter ; all this excites the derision of the world, and the sorrow of good men. But when one comes forward as a reformer, whose youth has been passed in purity and earnest studies ; who is meek yet brave, a hero yet a saint, joining lofty hopes with practical wisdom ; then all are touched, the strongest prejudices are softened, the most vulgar minds are moved to reverence, it is an angel who comes down to trouble the dark pool of social existence, and we feel that from such troubling as this must come healing and peace.

This is the principal cause of social evil — *sin*. We do not say that men are naturally or totally depraved, but we do say that in every soul there is moral evil to be struggled against and conquered, with agony and tears ; and in most souls it is not conquered ; and that, therefore, because *men* are false, society becomes false. We do not say that this is the only cause of social evil. Bad governments, false views of wealth, a wrong organization of society, sectarian churches, may increase this evil ; but the main root is in the perverted aims and depraved desires of the soul of man. We deceive ourselves, therefore, in thinking our misery comes mainly from without, from social arrangements ; it comes from within, from our want of faith, hope and love. We deceive ourselves, in thinking that we should become more free and happy in some different situation, in some different relations. Can you get away from yourself by joining an association ?\* Be brave, upright, gentle, holy, loving, pure, *where you are*. The apostle John did not have to join a Community in order to be full of "the love-spirit ;" nor did Jesus Christ copy the associations of the Essenes, nor teach his disciples to imitate their hermit virtue.

The main cause of social evil we hold to be sin ; secondary causes are to be found in ignorance, sectarianism, and inartificial social organization. The great cure must be looked for in individual virtue ; in single souls filled with heroic courage, with calm determination to live as God's children ought. A deeper, more earnest, more simple, more practical religion, a Christianity of love, can alone cure the evils with which selfishness has poisoned the springs of our life.

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\* *Patriæ quis exsul  
Se quoque fugit ?*

The cure for social evils is to be found, we believe, first, in individual courage and holiness, and secondly, in an improvement of social organizations and arrangements. But only mistakes and an increase of evil can come from beginning at the wrong end. If we suppose that by bringing together into an association a body of selfish, cowardly and false individuals, we can produce a generous, brave and true society, we wofully err. "I have learned," says Paul, "in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." It is a great thing to learn. Any spot where a free foot is planted is a land of freedom. Any place where a brave man stands, is a castle and a fortress, impregnable to the assaults of evil. Any society where a loving soul abides becomes magnetised with his love and is the home of affection. Wherever the pure in heart dwells, he sees God ; and wherever faith, hope and love are to be found, there is heaven.

J. F. C.

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#### ART. VII.—THE HEART'S YOUTH.

Addressed to a lady who complained that her heart had lost its youth.

TIME withers up the fairest face,  
Throws tower and palace down,  
Steals from the noblest form its grace,  
And rusts out sword and crown ;  
The tree is for its mouldering sway,  
The stone is for its tooth ; —  
But oh, take back that word, nor say  
That hearts can lose their youth.

The heart is of no earthly mould,  
Is neither clay nor rock ;  
Nor snaps like steel, nor dulls like gold,  
Nor yields to wear or shock.  
Its strength is in its loving will,  
Its life is in its truth ;  
Then, lady, do not tell me still,  
Your heart has lost its youth.

N. L. F.

## THE HEART'S RESOLVE.

THERE's scarce an hour of any day  
I could not drop to sleep ;  
There's scarce an hour, I almost say,  
I would not gladly weep.

The laboring cares that strain the mind  
Fall heavy on the eyes ;  
And griefs, that never speak, would find  
Relief in more than sighs.

This is not sluggishness that droops ;  
These are not passion's tears ; —  
The spirit strives as well as stoops,  
And blesses while it fears.

No, here's the weary weight, — that all  
So empty seems to be ;  
And these pent drops, if shed, would fall  
For others, — not for me.

Rouse, rouse, my mind, and every power  
To life's great service bring ;  
Cheer, cheer, my heart, and every hour  
Learn not to pine, but sing.

Then o'er this emptiness of earth  
Shall God's own fulness stream,  
And bathe in light of holiest birth  
The sorrow and the dream.

Let slumber be but gathering strength,  
And tears but nature's debt ;  
So, trouble shall be peace at length,  
With dews of glory wet.

N. L. F.



## ART. VIII.—DOCTRINAL PREACHING.\*

WE have been brought within a few years to a new conviction in regard to the necessity and utility of doctrinal discourses, both in the pulpit and from the press. During the first twenty years of our prominent existence as a denomination, there was necessarily much of doctrinal and controversial writing. It was able; it was thorough; it seemed to dispose of many of the "vexed questions." We regarded it with satisfaction, perhaps with too great self-complacency. We felt that all was done for the time, that could be done by strong and fair reasoning. We did not suppose that all were convinced of the soundness of our arguments, nor did we look for any visible or astounding changes. We knew that many minds were utterly unable, and must always be unable, to come to our point of vision. We knew that some natures, whether originally or from education and habit, crave and must have a different doctrine from ours and different means and measures in religion. And we were perfectly content that they should have what they seemed naturally to demand, and honestly, we trust acceptably, to use. We wished to address to them no more argument, for they could not receive it. And our own people did not need it. They did not desire it. They were convinced, they were sated. Most of them were weary of the very name and sound of controversy. In the pulpit they could not endure it, and never have. It is a remarkable fact, that Unitarian ministers generally have never carried controversy into the services of the Sabbath, and very little of direct doctrinal preaching. They have not desired to do it, though there is no preaching that requires so little preparation, or is so exciting to some minds. But our congregations generally have not wished to be excited, certainly not by theological warfare. Allow it much or little merit in itself, there is the fact, that Unitarians prefer plain practical preaching, and that in all the agitations of party, through the whole history of our denomination as such, practical preaching

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\* *Lectures on Christian Doctrine.* By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Boston: 1844. James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 227.

has been almost the only preaching heard in our churches, in the regular services of the Lord's day.

We call this a remarkable fact, and we dwell upon it a moment, as important to the view we wish to take of doctrinal writings. It is remarkable, that a sect "everywhere spoken against" should manifest and maintain so decided a preference of practical preaching, as to compel their clergy to use special occasions in vestry lectures for doctrinal discussions. It is remarkable, that Unitarianism has obtained the footing it has, and made such progress, without being often named on the Sabbath, seldom directly and systematically inculcated from the pulpit, and scarcely ever — if indeed we may not say, never — made the subject of Sunday school instruction. When we consider this, in connexion with the well-known fact, that believers of the opposite doctrines introduce them so often and urge them so positively, in church and school and home, we feel authorized to infer something in favor of our own doctrines, while we see cause for greater diligence in disseminating the truth. The truth as we hold it, in our distinctive doctrines, has been very imperfectly imparted to the young. Excluded as doctrine has been from our pulpits and schools, confined to special services which the young seldom attend, or to books and tracts which they never read, the new generation is constantly asking, 'What is Unitarianism? Do you believe this, do you reject that, as many affirm?' Nor are they always answered. For some parents and teachers are so singularly afraid of doctrines, or of the minister's sectarianism, that they refuse to give the truth to their own children and pupils when they ask for it. We have heard grave discussions in Sunday school meetings, as to the duty or propriety of answering questions which might lead to a knowledge of controverted points. That is, our special views of God, Christ, man, sin, repentance and retribution, are either so very important, or so very unimportant, that we will let these young and inquiring minds find them for themselves, or never find them at all!

What is the consequence of this policy? Just what we ought to expect. Children grow up to be young men and young women, they hear other preachers who do not withhold doctrine, questions are put to them which they cannot answer, views are pressed as essential which they have never

held, but which *sound* Scriptural and solemn, and they go away from us. If they condescend to talk with their own ministers before they go, they surprise them by asking of matters which those ministers thought they knew already, but which they now remember have been seldom preached or taught. Nor is the evil confined to those who leave. Many who remain are of unsettled, indefinite faith, easily perplexed and confounded by a skilful opponent, less interested in the church than those who have clear convictions of momentous truth, and in times of religious anxiety made to despond, or doubt, or wander.

It is from seeing and hearing such tendencies, together with more reflection on the principles involved and the natural influences, that we have come to feel differently, as we at first intimated, in regard to the necessity of doctrinal discussion. There was a time when we sympathised strongly with the general weariness, the longing to rest from all contention and be silent as to all differences. And when occasionally a doctrinal discourse was preached, or a new volume of doctrinal lectures appeared, as the excellent one from our brother at Baltimore a few years ago, while we acknowledged its ability, we felt as if it were not needed, and perhaps took the place of something more practical and useful. We advert to this feeling here, because we believe it to have been the prevalent feeling then, and to be still cherished by many. We believe it to be unjust. We believe, and have some reason to know, that the volume to which we just referred, and the controversial volume which has since followed from Dr. Dewey, have been eminently useful. The question so often asked both by our own and other people — ‘Where can we find in a brief space a statement and defence of Unitarian views’ — can now be answered. We have seen, also, no little good resulting from the several series of doctrinal discourses which have been given within two or three years in various places, chiefly on Sunday evenings, or on some evening in the week. If conducted in a proper spirit, some good must always result from such a course. It leaves the regular services of the Sabbath free from all that can disturb any worshipper, while it gives an opportunity to those who wish it, especially of other societies, by whom the opportunity is more freely used than formerly, to learn what we do

believe and weigh fairly our arguments. It is useless to say, that our tracts answer this purpose. There are many who never read anything, many who never see the tracts, and who will remain in utter ignorance of our faith, unless they hear it stated and explained again and again by the living preacher.

These remarks may seem trite and needless. In our judgment they are called for by the importance of the subject itself, by the disposition lately evinced to return to doctrinal preaching and printing, and by the fears occasionally expressed, that this change, if such it be, is a bad one, and the importance of doctrine itself altogether overrated. In these fears we should sympathise, but for two reasons; one, that doctrine is placed by our system in its true relation to duty and piety, so that the danger of exaggeration is very small, generally far less than the opposite danger; the other, that the temper in which doctrine is discussed and controversy conducted by our writers and preachers, and indeed by most at the present day, is such as removes the greatest objection, and prevents the worst evils heretofore experienced. We would not that doctrinal preaching should ever occupy a large place, in proportion to other preaching; we have no fear that it ever will in our denomination. We would not that the importance of doctrine should ever be set above that of the temper, the fixed character, or the daily life; we have never seen reason to fear this, in any of the preaching we have heard, or the books we have read, bearing our name. We say it not in boasting. We say it in gratitude, humility, and a deep sense of accountableness from this very circumstance. If we do hold doctrine in this just estimate, if we bring it to help precept and practice instead of superseding them, and if we can deal with our own and others' doctrine in a Christian temper, finding nothing that requires, but everything that forbids us to impugn motives or condemn any honest believers, we are responsible for the *use* of this power and position. There is nothing in it to feed pride; there is much to create obligation. We are bound to make known those opinions, which we believe to be true and to constitute Christianity. Call them doctrines or truths, preach them as faith or works, give to them greater or less prominence,—whatever those views are which seem to



you to distinguish the Gospel of Christ, to define Christian character and duty, make them known. In some way make them known. Give them utterance and influence. Show their soundness, their practical relations, their spiritual worth. Let it be seen, that all religious truth is vitally connected with all duty, and may help all the great interests of common life, of tempted and suffering and sinning man.

This is a chief reason, why we prize our own doctrine, and would proclaim it aloud and faithfully. It is that its views of God and man, of human nature and destiny, of mutual dependence, equal rights, solemn but just accountability, liberty guarded by law, charity and love unbounded but never indiscriminate or indifferent, are the doctrines nearest to those which Christ preached, and at the same time best calculated to commend religion to the consciences, and cause it to act upon the lives of men. And these are the very doctrines which are most affected, nay, identified, with just views of God's being and government, of Christ's relation to God and his mediation, of man's need of regeneration, his whole danger and whole duty.

With these feelings we give a cordial welcome to the new volume on Christian Doctrine, by Mr. Peabody. It was referred to in our last number, and a review of it promised. That review is less needed now, as regards the book itself, since it has passed already to a second edition, and is widely known. We need not give extracts. We need hardly give an opinion, much less go into an examination of the merits of the book, for the community has accepted it, and with more than usual unanimity. It is distinguished by clearness, directness, fairness, and decision. There is no compromising, no evasion, and no assumption. It is affirmative, not negative. It is discussion rather than controversy. The fact of difference is not kept out of sight, nor its importance denied. There is no poor attempt to show that all Christians think alike, that Trinitarians are Unitarians, and Unitarians hold something that may be called the Trinity. Things are called here by their right names. It is shown that there is one God, the Father, and one Mediator between God and men; and that any doctrine which opposes this, or confounds it, or impairs it, is without support in Scripture and of hurtful influence. And

so of the other great doctrines. There are eight Lectures, of which two are given to our views of "Jesus Christ," two to the "Atonement," and the other subjects are treated each in one lecture, viz. the "Divine Nature," the "Holy Spirit," "Human Nature," and "Regeneration." These are large subjects, and Mr. Peabody approaches them directly, and examines them thoroughly. By excluding all extraneous matter, indulging in no speculation, denunciation, or vague moralizing, he is able to comprise a great deal within this single moderate volume. We do not know where a compendium of our doctrines, so nearly complete, can be found in so small a space. We say nearly complete, for we cannot say wholly. We felt, in reading the volume, that some important questions were hastily dismissed, and some important subjects wholly omitted, particularly Retribution. But it is to be considered, that these Lectures were written without any view to publication, and their author may not have intended to give an entire system.

It is no slight recommendation of this book, that every one can place entire confidence in the accuracy of its statements. Mr. Peabody is known to be a thorough biblical scholar, in the best sense of the term. No one could bring to such a work sounder principles of interpretation, or a better temper. There is not one indication of the dogmatist or the combatant. We remember no polemic writer who resists more manfully the temptation to place an opponent in a ridiculous light; a temptation rendered particularly strong by the peculiarities of the Calvinistic scheme. Here is no ridicule, no lightness; but "words of truth and soberness." Ingenuity or originality is not the aim. The arguments are not new, but they are fresh and strong, always pertinent and always fair. The author may be regarded as a just representative of Unitarians generally, in matters of faith. He does not speak for all, nor hold any accountable for his views or his reasoning. Yet few, we apprehend, would dissent from his statements; and there is no room for the remark, which we sometimes hear about our best writers and preachers — 'O, these are good, but they are very different from the mass; these are not Unitarians.' That Mr. Peabody is not a Unitarian, we presume no one will venture to affirm. If he differs at all from

any large part of his brethren, it is on the subject of Christ's particular place in creation. On this point he goes beyond many, and avows his decided belief in the pre-existence of Christ. The reasons he gives for this, and the arguments with which he defends it, will not satisfy every one, but they are worthy of very serious consideration. In our opinion, they are not easily set aside. They do not amount to demonstration. They do not satisfy us of the absolute and unquestionable fact of Christ's pre-existence. But they do make it impossible for us to *deny* his pre-existence, and compel us to leave it, where the Scriptures leave it, — unrevealed, undetermined. We have never been wholly satisfied with the arguments and expositions of the Humanitarian. There are difficulties on both sides, and we are content to consider the whole question as among "the secret things which belong unto the Lord our God." It does not affect the authority of Christ, it does not affect his Divine mission or Divine character. We believe that God was with him and in him; we receive all he said as the word of God; we reverence the Son, without needing or asking to know when he began to exist, or how he came into the world. It is enough to know, that he was "sent," "ordained," "sanctified," and "sealed," by the Father. We would "honor the Son, even as we honor the Father."

The great difficulty in all questions of doctrine, and we incline to say, in all other questions at the present day, is a want of *definiteness*, both in conception and language. In the whole controversy on the Divine unity and the nature of Christ, let the question be stated definitely and definitely studied, there can hardly be two answers. Is Christ in all respects precisely the same as God the Father? If so, then he is God the Father. But no one pretends that. Then he is not God the Father; then he is not the same; then he is not equal. Or put it in another definite shape. Is Christ equal with God? Then are they not one, but two, and distinct. The mind is not capable of thinking of equality, or any kind of comparison, without having before it more than one object, more than one being. How can there be equality or comparison with only one? Allow two, make them perfectly equal, you have two distinct Supreme Beings. This again is an impossibility, according to all power of conception, or power of language. The



truth is, no man can, no man probably ever did, think of God and Christ, without having two separate ideas, two entirely distinct images, before the mind ; and this is enough to settle the question. More than this ; we doubt if any one ever thought of God and Christ, without supposing there was some difference between them. We never put the question to a Trinitarian, who did not answer it affirmatively. We remember, in the early stage of this controversy among us, Dr. Sprague, now of Albany, published a sermon on the subject, in which he expressly said, that God and Christ are not supposed to be equal, or are not equal, "in all respects ;" making the word "all" emphatic, — as if that relieved the matter — as if there can be equality without equality.

But we did not intend to go into the argument. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the doctrines. For that discussion we refer to the book before us. It is one of its excellencies, that it brings questions to a point. And all we propose further is, to show, in our own way, that they may be brought to a point, and that it is the want of this, the want of definiteness, that prevents their being clearly understood, and causes much, if not most of the variance and trouble in regard to them. There is a strange vagueness of thought and expression on all these subjects of dispute. Even the intellectual, and those who profess to be most refined and precise, use words either in a new sense, different from any before known and elsewhere admitted, or in a sense of which no one can say whether it be new or old, different or the same — that is, in no sense at all. We have seen this to our satisfaction in what is called the "new philosophy." It would seem as if Spiritualists, or those who aim to be such and suppose themselves such, find common language, in its common signification, wholly insufficient for their ideas, and find it unnecessary also to give their ideas any very definite character or intelligible utterance. We have sometimes amused ourselves with putting absurd questions, or giving unmeaning propositions to such minds, and seeing how readily they assent ; saying, ' Well, that sounds strange, but there is some truth in it ; and its strangeness is no objection ; I like it, I believe it.' We were tempted to say to them, ' You believe no such thing. As well might you believe that white is black.'



The very statement is a designed contradiction. And the only way in which such words are ever to be seriously used or accepted, is by adopting the short creed of the old father — ‘Credo, quia impossibile est.’

Is there not a great deal of this easy faith and vague thought, and yet more vague expression, in the old theology, as well as the new philosophy? The Trinitarian and Calvinistic systems abound in it. Open any of their pages, and you see it. Take any leading doctrine, and it will illustrate what we mean. We have spoken of the being of God. Let us look at his moral character, in this connexion and for this purpose only.

God is just. All men ascribe to him perfect justice. And yet, most Christians say that his perfect justice is the very attribute which requires him to punish multitudes for a nature which he gave them, and which he has not changed, and no one else can change. Moreover, this is the attribute which forbids him to pardon and receive the sinner on repentance alone. Be his repentance ever so sincere, and his reformation entire, God’s justice must inflict the heaviest penalty, if it act as justice only. We speak not here of the unreasonableness or hardness of this doctrine, nor even of its inconsistency with the solemn promise of God to pardon those who return to him. We speak only of the meaning of language. What is justice? Answer that question and you answer the whole. You cannot form any distinct idea of justice, you cannot use the word with a definite, intelligible meaning, that will permit you to believe that God will punish man for a nature which he himself gave him, or deal with the penitent sinner and the returning prodigal, as with the impenitent, the hardened, and the dead in sin. No one does believe this. No Christians pretend to believe it. But why not? Not because of God’s justice; this, they say, would require them to believe it, and would bind God so to act. Let them define their ideas, let them use the mind which God has made, and allow words to mean in religion what they mean everywhere else, and they must either deny God’s justice, or admit a different conclusion.

These thoughts bring before us the doctrine of Atonement, to which they properly belong. And we take that doctrine in itself for another brief illustration of the vague-

ness of common words and conceptions in religion. Or, rather, we would simply ask, if this whole doctrine may not be brought to a single point, and made so definite in language and idea, as to answer most of the questions usually raised. Atonement is reconciliation. God has spoken, Christ lived and died, to reconcile the erring and sinning child to the gracious Father; to make them "at-one." How can it be done? They are now separated. Which is to be brought to the other? In which is the needful *change* to be effected? Can any man ask himself that question, and answer it in more than one way? Put it in another form, virtually the same. Was the death of Christ designed to operate on God, or on man? Did God need atonement for himself, or did the sinner need it? There is but one answer. Language requires that answer. Reason requires it. Religion, reverence, penitence, require it. And the Apostle gave it ages ago: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."

The usual words and ideas found in connexion with the doctrine of human nature, or Depravity, show the same thing. When men talk of "original sin" and "total depravity," they use words in the loosest manner, and probably connect with them no definite meaning, or else a meaning which the words themselves contradict. Thus the New Haven modern school make original sin to mean a natural bias to evil, or the certainty that every man will sin. This we presume is now the prevalent doctrine, and we find many intimations of it in the old writers also. How far it is from denoting original sin, need not be shown. Who indeed ever attempted to define the word "original," or the word "sin," without seeing that they cannot possibly be brought together, in any strict or intelligible sense? Is there any meaning in "original righteousness?" Set aside the fact, which abundantly contradicts it, do the words themselves carry to the mind any meaning? We believe man to be prone to evil, as well as to good, originally, naturally. We cannot in any other way account for the terrible amount of sin in the world, or the necessity of such an immense array of means, instructions, institutions, influences, from God and man, to save the world from anarchy and the soul from self-destruction. Man is prone to evil. But how far

this proneness is sinful, is the great question. In itself, as the creation or design of God, it cannot be sinful. When indulged, when consciously allowed, not resisted or controlled, but allowed and aggravated, it is sinful. And this we believe to constitute the definite and true doctrine — more strict, personal, unavoidable, and fearful, than any general idea of a vast undefined evil, a common inheritance, ordained of God, and to be overcome only by his special interposition and irresistible grace. Our own view seems to us at once more reasonable and more humbling. As Mr. Peabody says in his discourse on this subject, one of the best in the volume: "This view magnifies the evil of sin, and makes transgression against God a fit ground for the deepest self-reproach and the most hearty penitence. The sin is mine. I am not tempted of God. I can cast no reproach on the Author of my being. I must lay my hand on my mouth, and my mouth in the dust, and cry, *unclean, unclean.*"

The error that has vitiated all systems of religion, has been the diverting of attention from the individual to the sect or race, and from character to nature. The individual is merged in the multitude. He thinks himself a sinner, because all men are sinners. And he lodges the sin in nature, more than in character. Almost all discussions of this kind have turned upon man's nature. Little has been said of character. When one proposes to join a church, he is questioned closely as to his views of human nature; he is not always questioned as to his own daily conduct and actual character. His feelings, to be sure, are examined, his emotions, and what are called "experiences." But these usually pertain to a recent and brief period, and often are only impulses. Impulses are not character. Opinions are not character. Nature is not character. All these are confounded. They are all important, but none so important as the individual, conscious, free, and habitual character. It is to this that God looks. This makes the heart and the life, on which his present and final judgment will turn. Out of this are the issues of life.

Now if it be true, as we believe and say, that the principle just stated is made more prominent in the Unitarian doctrine than in any other, that doctrine ought to be preached and published. The very fact that we make the



character and life the only essentials, and while we think opinions important, value them only as they bear upon character and life, is a reason, not for silence, but for utterance, — utterance on this point, this doctrine ; for a doctrine it is, the fundamental doctrine of our system, and one that is vitally affected by all other doctrines. Other doctrines therefore must be examined. If they stand in the way of this, they must be removed. If they help it, they must be confirmed. If they are inconsistent and erroneous, yet are insisted upon by the majority of believers, held essential, and accepted by any as substitutes for the religious character and the spiritual life, we must speak and write against them. We must at least make known the TRUTH, as the foundation of faith, as doctrine, and light, and eternal life.

There cannot be a doubt, that such publications as that which has led to these remarks, will do good. They help to clear and settle many troubled minds. They give to doctrine its true place and its rightful influence. They are demanded. Men must have something like a system of doctrine or form of faith, which they know, and to which they can cling. The only question is, where shall they get it? We answer, in the Gospel. And then we must help them to understand the Gospel, and satisfy them that it is the true source, the only authority, the all-sufficient creed.

E. B. H.

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ART. IX. — THE LATE REV. J. P. B. STORER.

WE are filled with mingled emotions of regret and satisfaction, as we contemplate the many bereavements that have fallen upon the churches of our denomination during the last three or four years ; — regret, that our churches are deprived of faithful shepherds, ourselves of the sympathy and counsel of revered fathers and beloved brethren in the ministry, and the great cause of liberal Christianity of able and devoted advocates ; satisfaction, that we had such men to lose, that we have their memories to cherish, their characters and example to appeal to, their venerable names to add to the cloud of witnesses among the sainted dead, who in their day and generation have lived and



labored for the truth we prize as "the faith once delivered to the saints." The unusual, we may say the extraordinary, number of deaths that have occurred among the Unitarian clergy during the last three or four years, must have been noticed by all; by many we trust it has been improved to the increase of their faith and higher attainments in the divine life. For a period of more than twenty years previous, the clergy of our denomination, as a body, had been comparatively exempt from the ravages of death. The old, their locks silvered by time, their forms bending beneath the weight of years, were permitted to remain with us longer than we anticipated, to counsel by their wisdom, to encourage by their example. Of those in the meridian of life and usefulness, some who were invalids, always feeble, and at times compelled to relax their labors and recruit, were yet upheld and strengthened, enabled even in ill health and wasting beneath the slow progress of disease, to do much good, and by their characters and their writings render noble services to the cause of truth, of freedom and of human happiness. But within a few years many of these, together with some of the young, whose devoted zeal and noble purposes, and gifts faithfully improved, gave promise of eminent usefulness in the ministry, have departed this life. They have been summoned from "the Church below" to "the Church above," leaving a legacy of "peace and love to the brethren." Their names, hallowed in our hearts, gratefully revered in our mourning churches, shall serve as incentives to fidelity and perseverance. Being dead, they shall yet speak to us, in tones that shall quicken our consciences and stimulate our efforts in Christian and ministerial duty.

As they have occurred from time to time, our journals have contained a record of these sad bereavements, and we would now add a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of one whose death, as a pioneer of our faith in Western New York, has been widely felt, and will be long and deeply lamented.

John Parker Boyd Storer was born in Portland, in the State of Maine, November 6, 1793. His father, a man of eminence and influence, a Unitarian from conviction, the result of thorough examination, was one of the founders and pillars of the first Unitarian society in that city. His

son, early intended and self-consecrated to the ministry, was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1812, at the age of nineteen, and was subsequently for some time a tutor in that institution. Upon resigning this office, and before entering upon preparation for the profession of his choice, he passed three years travelling in Europe, in company with a maternal uncle whose name he bore. Upon his return he repaired to Cambridge, where he pursued the regular course of study at the Theological School connected with the University. Upon leaving the Divinity School Mr. Storer preached with approbation in several places, and in 1826 received and accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Walpole, Mass. This relation subsisted for more than twelve years, with uninterrupted harmony and increasing confidence and interest on both sides. His ministry in this place, though from its position retired, and consequently less known to the public, was not less useful, certainly not less faithfully prosecuted than his subsequent one at Syracuse. Here he infused new strength and vigor into a feeble, and somewhat decayed society, enlarged a diminished church, awakened a general interest in and attendance upon religious institutions and ordinances, produced deep and lasting religious impressions upon many minds, and "made full proof of his ministry." In all that related to the best interests of his flock and of the town, his pure personal character, and his quiet but earnest professional zeal and fidelity, exerted an animating and improving influence, and his name and memory are still cherished there with grateful and affectionate respect.

In 1838, Mr. Storer, suffering even then from the organic disease which ultimately caused his death, took a journey into the western part of New York, to recruit his strength by temporary relaxation of his labors. On this journey opportunity was offered him to preach at Syracuse, where a handful of our brethren were just making efforts to establish a Unitarian society. Finding his health improved and a prospect of usefulness open to him, he remained and preached for them several weeks. From the first, his character and services, his conversation and intercourse with the people, produced not only a favorable, but a strong and decided impression, which speedily ripened into a resolution

to secure, if possible, the permanent enjoyment of them. An invitation to become their pastor, not only unanimous, but accompanied with earnest entreaties and the expression of the deep conviction that their progress and successful establishment depended upon his accepting it, was tendered him by the society. Mr. Storer returned to Walpole, and after consulting with his friends and communing with his own heart, determined—reluctantly, so far as his attachments to the East and his affection for the people of his charge were concerned—to accept the invitation, and on the 20th of June, 1839, he was installed at Syracuse. Here he lived and labored five years with an unfaltering fidelity and an honorable success. “Through that deeply trying period of mercantile embarrassment, failures and prostration of all the energies of business, which has but lately been brought to a close, Mr. Storer continued faithful to his work, asking nothing but a bare supply of the necessities of life for himself alone. His labors were untiring, unremitting and faithful. He would approve no measures for the immediate erection of a place of worship, until they could be taken without involving the society in debt. When at last that decisive step was justifiable, he came on a visit to Boston. From this inexhaustible fountain, whence a perpetual stream of large charities is ever going forth to all parts of the world, he obtained valuable pecuniary aid, chiefly through his own solicitation of individuals. He had the satisfaction of seeing the results of his long and patient toil in a well established society, a numerous church, and a flourishing Sunday school, with its charity circle, meeting in a beautiful temple for whose walls he had labored, and from whose pulpit he had spoken the high truths of the Gospel.”\*

But the temporal prosperity and spiritual growth of his own society at Syracuse, are by no means the measure of his usefulness. From this point his labors and his influence radiated in all directions through an extended and ever-widening circle. His professional services, always acceptable and impressive, were continually solicited in neighboring places more or less distant, and every such invitation he held himself ready to meet at whatever cost of personal

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\* Christian Register, April 6, 1844.



ease and convenience. His dignified but kind and courteous manners, his amiable disposition and sincerity of heart, distinctly manifested in every expression of his countenance and his lips, admirably adapted him to win confidence and respect among strangers, and to exert a beneficial influence in personal intercourse. And doubtless some of his most profitable hours were those passed in private conversation with the many persons with whom his varied and extensive intercourse with the people of Western New York brought him in contact. He lost no opportunity of usefulness of this kind which circumstances afforded him.

In this way he was ever at work, sowing the seeds of truth wherever he could find a single spot, however small and humble, on which to drop them; and individuals in that section of the country, on whose judgment we rely and who had no personal predilections to gratify in speaking his praise, have assured us that it is next to impossible for us here at the East to estimate the extent of his personal influence, and the good he did through private conversations as a pioneer of the faith, in removing prejudice, in enlightening the ignorant who knew not or misapprehended our views, in counselling and guiding to the light of truth those whose minds were in doubt because they had outgrown their early creeds. His time, his sympathies, his instructions, and his books were ever at the service of such as these, and in this way was he perpetually and extensively, amidst opposition and prejudice, diffusing the influence of Christian truth.

The labors which Mr. Storer thus performed, both as a pastor faithful to his immediate charge, and as a missionary prompt to go, if possible, to every spot whence the cry, "Come over and help us," reached him, would have exhausted the strength of a man of sound constitution and vigorous health. He enjoyed not these blessings, precious to all, inestimable to the zealous and faithful minister. His erect and noble form, his firm step and general appearance indicated health, but a fatal disease was secretly and silently besieging the gates of life. Many years since, his own sufferings and medical opinion made him aware that he had a disease of the heart. Its progress, hitherto very gradual, became two or three years ago so accelerated, that the advice of physicians and the exhortations of kindred



and friends urged him to seek prolonged life in repose. "But the hand of man could not hold him back when the hand of God seemed so plainly leading him on." He determined to persevere till the work that he felt was given him to do, was accomplished; and beneath the pressure of pain and debility, that daily increased, though his frame bowed not and no trace of decay was visible on his mild and tranquil countenance, he did persevere, till the society whose infancy he had nurtured seemed strong in its manhood, till its new and beautiful church was completed and dedicated, till he had proclaimed the truth as it is in Jesus from its pulpit, till at its table of communion he had distributed to the brethren the tokens of a crucified Saviour's love, and in that hallowed hour uttered his parting counsels, benedictions, and prayers. Then was he willing to seek repose; and then the repose that earth cannot disturb was given him. All the preparations for a remission of labor and a return to his friends in New England had been made. On Sunday, the 10th of March, he was unable to preach, but administered the rite of baptism. "On the previous Sunday he had administered the communion—it was his last public service; and preached from the text, 'It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing;' but his voice was checked with sobs, and at last stifled with tears, and he could only say, 'Thou canst hear the prayer we cannot utter!'" On Saturday, March 16, after an evening spent in cheerful and Christian conversation, he retires to rest; and in the morning it is found, "he had indeed fallen asleep sweetly in Jesus, with no trace of pain on his countenance, no mark of disturbance in his repose, no signs that he was not then resting in peace on his Father's outspread arms." Beautiful and appropriate close to a holy, useful, and devoted life! "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

Though it has been our pleasure to know and honor Mr. Storer for many years, we had not that intimate acquaintance and those opportunities of familiar intercourse and daily observation, which would authorize the attempt at a minute delineation of his character. Its leading, prominent feature (and a noble one it was,) is manifest from this brief sketch of his life and labors. It is a singular coincidence

that the sermon preached at his ordination at Walpole, by Rev. Dr. Nichols, and that preached thirteen years afterwards at his installation at Syracuse, by Rev. Dr. Dewey, were both from the same text,—“I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.” The spirit of this text was embodied in Mr. Storer’s character, constituted its chief feature, was the secret of his usefulness, and the foundation of his claim to the high regard and grateful remembrance of those whose views of Christian truth he advocated and diffused. Though he was well read as a theologian, and had learning, sacred and profane, amply sufficient to meet all the circumstances in which he was placed, deep, profound and extensive scholarship will not be claimed for him. Though his talents were highly respectable and well disciplined, we do not affirm that his intellectual powers were of the highest order—brilliant, dazzling and commanding. But he was *devoted*; devoted, heart, mind, and strength, to the work and purposes of the Christian ministry. He determined not to know anything among men save Christ, and him crucified. He had no higher, rather should we say, no lower ambition, than to be a faithful, devoted, labor-loving, self-sacrificing minister of Jesus. This was the thought that governed, and with a continually increasing power, during the latter years of life, absorbed his mind, made his instructions and example effective persuasions to truth and righteousness, and crowned his labors with a success, (often denied to more splendid gifts and more exciting eloquence,) which writes as “with the diamond pen of Providence” over his grave, “Well done, good and faithful servant.”

This view of his character is forcibly presented in the following passage, (which, with some previous sentences, we have been permitted to extract from the manuscript,) of a discourse delivered at Rochester on the Sunday after his interment, by Rev. F. W. Holland, with which we close this imperfect tribute to the memory of a good man and a devoted minister.

“We do not pretend that this departed husbandman sowed all the seed whose up-springing God has so richly blest. We do not forget others who have also watched, watered, quickened the rising but tender blade, and shield-

ed it from the withering ray of persecution and the biting mildew of neglect. But he has kept in his ever warm heart a leaping life-fountain, and in his apostolic epistles has sent forth a living stream of urgent admonition, spiritual sympathy, zealous effort, and signally wise counsel. This, I maintain, distinguished him from most ministers, and hardly ever failed him, — the doing the right thing and saying the fit word and suggesting the best plan, often in emergencies of the most difficult nature. At his own post he bore cheerfully, manfully, serenely, triumphantly, every kind of opposition, every domestic privation, every personal hardship; and he bore all, not for a pittance of emolument, which for a time came hardly from a few, not for a name, which the next tide of moving souls may wash away, not to erect any party banner, flapping wildly against the unfettered breezes of this Western thought, but for what he believed, in all sincerity, to be God's highest truth, — the truth which he had felt, loved, prayed over, mused upon, proved sufficient in every walk of personal experience or pastoral necessity. He gave to this truth the testimony of a pure, upright, humane, earnest, devout soul, in his hours of health; and when the shadows of the last night began to press heavily on his aching heart, he then showed how cruel the calumny, that the mercy of the Father and fidelity to his Son are not faith enough to soothe the fevered brow and guide the spent spirit to repose.

I thank God that he died at his post; the seals of his calling around him; the witnesses of his fidelity bending now in serene trust over a martyr's grave. In this day of ministerial instability and parochial fickleness, we rejoice over one taking leave of his shepherd-crook by his Master's call, among a flock which he had led to the fountains of living water; who, through all discouragement, had held on bravely yet trustingly, heroically yet humbly, to the end; whose ministry on earth was formally closed in preparation for a higher ministry with angels, — the sanctuary vestments just laid aside, as an unseen hand clothed him in the pure white of the saints, — the altar vessels exchanged for those golden harps which ever breathe the praise of God and the Lamb. Though I feel sadly the chasm that is made, I can but be thankful for the generous, manly, zealous life which has just passed into a wider, happier

sphere of existence, in the fittest possible time, by a gentle and blessed gliding away. Truly

‘There is no death to those who know of life,  
No time to those who see eternity.’

Justly of him may we now sing the beautiful hymn,

‘Servant of God, well done!  
Rest from thy loved employ:  
The battle fought, the victory won,  
Enter thy Master’s joy!’”

S. K. L.

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#### ART. X.—SERVICE BOOKS.\*

THERE is, we have reason to believe, a very erroneous idea in the minds of many, connected with the worship of the Sabbath. It is, that the people assemble solely, or principally, to hear; to be listeners, and not to be agents; to be silent spectators of devotion in others, not to engage in it themselves. Undoubtedly the people assemble, or should assemble, in part to hear, to listen to expositions of spiritual truth, to religious counsel and warning. But it is a sad mistake, to suppose that this is the one great object of going to church. The right view of the subject is, that the people assemble, themselves to engage in an act of worship,—to become themselves worshippers. This is the Christian view. A Christian congregation is an assembly of worshippers, and not of mere listeners. If this be so, then the Liturgic services of the church, including singing, (and a similar remark may be made of the services of Sunday schools,) should be adapted to excite and aid the devotion of the people,—the great body of those present

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\* 1. *Service Book; for the use of the Church of the Disciples. Taken principally from the Old and New Testaments. — The Disciples’ Hymn Book; a Collection of Hymns and Chants for Public and Private Devotion. Prepared for the use of the Church of the Disciples.* Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 16mo. pp. 183 and 378.

2. *The Sunday School Service Book. In Three Parts.* Part First; Devotional Exercises for the School. Part Second; Hymns for the School. Part Third; Prayers and Hymns for Teachers’ Meetings. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 372.

3. *Hymns and Tunes for Vestry and Conference Meetings.* By EDWIN M. STONE. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. pp. 96.



as worshippers. In this respect, we are inclined to believe, with all due deference to the opinions of those who think otherwise, that our Congregational worship, as frequently conducted, is somewhat deficient. The body of worshippers take too little share in it. It can hardly be called social, much less *congregational*, worship. It is too much the act of a single individual, and leaves the heart of the multitude unmoved. They do not feel that they are themselves worshippers. We must be permitted to say that we think this a great and prevailing defect, and we ardently wish to see it remedied.

It has been charged as a defect on Protestant communions generally, that they do not provide sufficiently for the culture of the "devotional feelings," that they address men too exclusively on "the side of the intellect," that they make religion too much a matter of pure reason. Catholicism addresses more the eye and the imagination, and provides more "outward excitements to devotion." One objection to it is, that it relies too much on the outward, and consequently leaves the mind "sluggish," that it encumbers and crushes the spirit of devotion beneath the weight of forms. If we, a portion of the descendants of the Puritans who may be considered as representing the very van of the Protestant army, are in the other extreme, if we make our worship too little a social exercise — too much a solitary feeling of the heart, — if there is too little of warmth and sympathy in it — too little to touch the sensibility and awaken and elevate devout feeling, it is certainly desirable that the error should be corrected. For this reason we are friendly to congregational singing as an act of Christian devotion on the part of the visible worshippers. Religion itself is but a higher harmony, the concert of all the inward faculties and feelings breathed upon by the Divine spirit, the union of the soul with the great Source of all order and beauty, its calm dwelling with God, the highest peace; and hence its natural alliance with music, which

"Untwisting all the chains that tie  
The hidden soul of harmony,"

at once enkindles devotional sentiment and furnishes a fit expression of it. A hymn is a prayer, yea, often the high-

est prayer. The best hymns are either ascriptions, or simple breathings of penitence and desire ; in them there is the uprising of the soul to God, and that is true prayer.

We would then have the music, or singing, and Liturgic services of the church adapted to aid the devotion of the congregation, to make the congregation themselves worshippers. Nothing else satisfies us. We can look with reverence on the most lowly assembly of Christian worshippers lifting up their hearts to God in strains of music, or prayers, the most inartificial. We can sympathise with the devout expression of such music, and such simple promptings of the heart in prayer, and we would choose rather to worship in such an assembly than have our devotional feelings chilled by a mere cold exhibition of the beauties of art in the most gorgeous edifice man ever reared. We join in worship to meet our God there, and if He be not in it, it is no worship for us.

Entertaining these views, we are prepared to like the general plan of Mr. Clarke's "Service Book." It answers the demand made by the heart of the worshipper ; it has sufficient variety, yet is simple, both in its matter and arrangement ; it avoids the repetition and confusion observable in many of the old prayer-books, and the service is not, as in some of them, made tedious by its length ; and it unites the advantages of extempore prayer with something fixed, and especially with well chosen Scriptural aids to devotion. One of its excellencies is that, with the exception of the *Te Deum*, the Morning and Evening Hymns, and two of the Litanies, one of which agrees in the main with that used at King's Chapel, Boston, (which is taken with few variations, besides the expunging of certain unscriptural doctrines and expressions, from the Liturgy found in the Book of Common Prayer,) the whole of it is from the Bible ; consisting of Sentences to be read, a Confession, the Lord's Prayer, Selections from the Psalms, and from the Prophets, Scriptural Litanies, and closing Ascriptions.

We are particularly pleased with what the Compiler calls "Litanies from the New Testament," which he says he has "prepared merely by way of experiment." We see not why the language of the New Testament should not be used for purposes of devotion, as well as that of the Old. It is in many respects better suited to the needs of Chris-

tians, and breathes more of the spirit which may be expected to animate a follower of Christ.

We like the principle on which the Hymns (381 in number, which, together with several Chants, are bound in one volume with the Service Book,) are selected, that is, of excluding all merely didactic hymns, and many others which encumber nearly all our Collections, the most improved even, but which nobody, we suppose, ever thinks of using. There are some fifty or a hundred hymns in what are called our best Collections, which we have always wished were out of the way. Some of the hymns in the present Collection are addressed to the Saviour, and to this, which certainly has early usage in its favor, we do not object; though Mr. Clarke seems a little inconsistent, when having assigned as a reason, why the hymns in the volume are "mostly direct addresses to God," the fact that "singing is an act of worship," he proceeds in the next sentence to say, "nor have we scrupled to address also our risen Master." That he does not mean such address, however, should be regarded as an act of worship, appears from what he immediately adds, that, according to the teachings of the Saviour himself, "all worship and prayer must be directed to the Father." The term "worship," it is well known, is now used in a much more restricted sense than when our present English version of the Bible was made, so that the instances in which persons are spoken of in it, as falling down and *worshipping* Jesus, that is, doing him reverence, after the custom of the East, furnish no justification of those who would make him an object of worship, as the term is now used to express supreme religious homage. "See thou do it not; worship God."

The mechanical execution of the book is worthy of notice. It is exceedingly neat and pleasing to the eye; though we could point out a few slight changes or corrections, which, should the work come to a second edition, we should desire to see made. We wish, too, that more pains had been taken to trace the hymns credited to the Sunday School Hymn Book, to their original sources. To mention a single instance, the first three verses of the fifty-eighth hymn, here credited to the "Sun. School H. B." were original in Mr. Sewall's (the New York) Collection, for which they were furnished by one of our best female

writers. A slight change only has been made, — for the worse, we think, and the fourth verse is far inferior to that for which it is substituted. Other hymns which are given as anonymous, might have been ascribed to the authors of whom they are now the well-known productions, and who are entitled to the credit of such verses as those, particularly, which we find in the hymn beginning, "Calm on the listening ear of night," by Rev. E. H. Sears, or in that by the late H. Ware, beginning "Great God, the followers of thy Son."

The Sunday School Service Book "by one of the officers" of the "Sunday School Society" to which it is dedicated, possesses, we think, as a whole, very great merit. From the remarks with which we commenced, it may be inferred that we favor the use of such books, as tending to make the devotional exercises of the school personal on the part of the children. We have heard them objected to by teachers, who tell us, that after the service has been read a few times, it ceases to interest, and the children begin to show symptoms of inattention and weariness. We have not been accustomed, however, to consider this objection insuperable. We have supposed that a service-book might be so constructed and used as in a great measure, if not wholly, to do it away, and we hesitate not to say that the one before us approaches far nearer to what we conceive such a book should be, than any other which has hitherto fallen under our eye. It is prepared by an experienced teacher, and is in some of its features, we believe, original. The plan is different, at least, from that of any other we have seen, and the Services being thirteen in number, besides a New Year's and an Anniversary Service, the same service occurs only once in three months.

The Service consists of eleven parts; a Lesson from the Scriptures, Lesson for the Day, and the Class Lessons, constituting three of them; and four hymns, a Devotional Exercise from the Scriptures, Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and Benediction, making up the remainder. Each service has a specific subject, as "True Worship," "Early Piety," the "Scriptures," "God in his Works," "Character and Mission of Jesus Christ," "Love to God," and others of a similar kind. All parts of the service given have reference



to this subject, and the lesson for the day, which is to be read by the superintendent, and the class lessons, are expected to relate to the same. There are certainly several advantages attending this plan.

The whole service, with the lessons, is supposed to occupy an hour and a quarter. It will doubtless be objected by some persons, that there is too much of it, that it leaves too little time at the disposal of the teachers, to be occupied with the class lessons, and that it is better suited to constitute a whole half-day's religious exercise with children, than to fill a space before or after the usual church services. Such was our first impression, but we confess that this impression has been in a great measure removed by a more careful examination of the book, and by further reflection on the subject. We know something of the wants of Sunday schools, and are very sensible of the imperfection of the method pursued in many of them, and of the little fruit which is the result. It is impossible to deny that the exercises, as they are often conducted, are wearisome to children. We think that the variety and change introduced into the present service book will tend in part to prevent this weariness. Further, we must be allowed to express our belief that half an hour is as much as can, in ordinary cases, be profitably given to the class-lessons. It is as long as grown up people are usually willing to listen to a sermon, and the exposition or illustration of a child's lesson, we think, ought not to occupy a longer time, at least unless the school is remarkably favored with good teachers. There are teachers, we know, to whom the children seem never weary of listening, and by whom their interest in the exercise may be sustained an hour and more. But take the schools throughout the land, Orthodox or Liberal, they may consider themselves fortunate, if one-tenth part of the teachers are of this description. Such teachers furnish the exception, and not the rule. We do not speak this as matter of censure. We are simply stating a fact, which is very readily accounted for, and it would be strange if the fact were otherwise. There is less need, too, that the class lesson be protracted, as, where the service book under notice is used, the lesson for the day, to say nothing of the prayers and selections, relates to the same subject. We beg, however, that we may not be misunderstood when we

use the word "lesson" and speak of its exposition or illustration, as if we referred to "manuals," or books of questions and answers; which we could wish to see nearly, if not wholly, banished from our Sunday schools, where, with few exceptions, they are still retained, as much probably from the circumstance that the teachers want confidence in themselves to proceed in the exercise without them, as from any other cause. The true method of conducting the exercise is, we conceive, by familiar conversation.

As to the length and number of the other parts of the service, to which the supposed objection refers, they can be reduced at the discretion of the superintendent, and probably will be, in most cases; yet there may be instances in which the whole may be wanted. For ourselves, we are disposed to think, that where the children attend the usual exercises of the church immediately before or after the Sunday school exercises, an hour given to the latter is better than a longer time. To the objection, if such an objection be made, that the same subjects of instruction, and those limited to thirteen, will recur in a circle, it may be replied, that only parts of them need be taken up at one time, and while as a whole they embrace all the great points in religion, most of them are of so large a compass as to admit of having an almost indefinite number of lessons given under each. The language and spirit of the Services are excellent.

The Hymns exhibit a choice selection and rich variety. They are 308 in number, and are arranged under twenty-four divisions. A third Part is added, containing prayers and hymns to aid the devotions of teachers at their meetings. The prayers, nine in number, were prepared by several of the compiler's "friends, of the clergy," with the exception of one, taken from the writings of the late Dr. Greenwood, and one by a superintendent, and 45 hymns are given. This part of the volume, we doubt not, will be found useful, and was necessary to its completeness as a service book. We hope that the work will receive a fair trial, and if it does not answer its object, let a better be made, if any person can be found to execute the task.

Of the last book named at the commencement of this article — "Hymns and Tunes for Vestry and Conference

Meetings," — we have left ourselves little room to speak, and can only say, in general terms, that we are much pleased with it. Something of the kind has been long wanted, and is now especially acceptable, when the practice of the old and primitive congregational singing is reviving among us, which is sure to bring back a taste for the old, simple and devotional music. The book is a small one, modest, and unpretending; but it well fulfils its design. It embraces a sufficient variety of tunes to answer the purpose for which the publication is intended, and these, as well as the hymns, two or three of which are given to each tune, seem to us to have been well chosen. A. L.

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ART. XI.—PRESENT POSITION OF UNITARIANISM.

WE endeavored in our last number to present a correct view of the internal state of our denomination, so far as it had been affected by the more important circumstances of our recent history. We proceed now to consider its external, or relative position, — to ascertain how far its place and influence, as one of the divisions of the Christian Church, are such as we can regard with satisfaction. Our remarks cannot at present extend beyond our own country. We hope at a future time to be the means of bringing before our readers some statements respecting the condition of Unitarianism in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe, which shall be entitled to their confidence. The questions now to be answered are these; — has Unitarian Christianity gained any diffusion in the United States within the last fifteen or twenty years; and, if we give to this inquiry an affirmative reply, has its progress been as great as its friends anticipated; or, if not equal to their hopes, has it been as great as they ought to have expected?

To the first of these questions we at once return an affirmative reply, and we doubt if there be any need of spending time in adducing proof of its justice. We presume every one will admit that there are more Unitarians, and more Unitarian churches now, than there were twenty, or twelve years ago; that our doctrines are better understood, and our name more familiar to men's ears. Even

those who try to talk about the decline of Unitarianism only mean, we suppose, that the growth of other sects has been more rapid, and has left us in a more decisive minority. This is the point upon which there may be difference of opinion, and about which we should especially desire to reach the truth. With a positive increase, we may yet have relatively lost ground. Is it so? Are facts against us? Are tendencies against us?

We have at times hesitated in regard to the answer that should be made to these inquiries. We have, perhaps, sometimes yielded to a feeling of discouragement, and doubted if what we held to be Scriptural religion was making its way through the community. The tone of exultation with which other sects have spoken of our decrease, we have been prompted by a candid judgment towards them to suppose had some support in truth, and would be found, to our sorrow, to be authorised by an examination of facts. We were willing however to know the truth, and have therefore taken some pains to review the facts on which such an opinion should rest; and we now say, in perfect honesty, that they do not present to us any ground for discouragement, nor furnish any occasion for the prophetic rejoicing of those who anticipate our downfall. It is the hopes (or the fears,) and not the information, of those who use pleasant words respecting the *decay* of Unitarianism, which supplies them with the material for ingenious paragraphs in a sermon or a review.

That our views of religion are embraced by more persons in the United States now than were at least known to entertain them a few years ago, we say, cannot be denied. Look in what direction we may, we perceive evidence of such increase. Go to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, yes, anti-Unitarian Connecticut, which meets you at its borders with the Saybrook Platform in one hand and the Common Prayer-Book in the other, and gives you your choice between these two symbols of faith, — and you will find more, and *stronger* societies than could be found in 1830, to look no farther back. If we pass out of New England, the progress of a Scriptural faith is seen to be still more unquestionable. In the city of New York the condition and the *influence* of the Unitarian churches there indicate a substantial growth. In



the opposite city of Brooklyn, where our friends not long since met in a small chapel, the stranger is attracted by the elegance of a costly structure bearing the name of the Saviour whom the Father sent into the world. Proceeding along the western line of travel through the State, instead of the one solitary building — at Trenton — in which, in the year we have named, the believers in the simple unity of God assembled, if we now stop at Albany, Syracuse, Rochester or Buffalo, to omit all mention of other smaller places, we can go up to the sanctuary with those whose prayers are offered to the Father alone. Still beyond, at Chicago, and still farther on, at Milwaukie, do we now find not the promise, but the *fact*, of a congregation listening to the Gospel as we understand it, within walls which they have erected and consecrated. While through this whole region infant societies, in town or village, show what a few more years must add to our statistical enumeration. If we take our course through the valley of the Mississippi, while at every step the conviction grows upon us that more ought to have been done, and golden opportunities have been lost, we discover proofs of successful labor and encouragements to more active exertion. We need only name St. Louis as furnishing an example of what may be accomplished, and has been accomplished within one half the time we have selected as the limit of our examination, by faithful, judicious and disinterested zeal. In the Southern States peculiar circumstances have in one or two instances caused the disappointment of well-founded expectations; but even in the South Unitarianism has not less manifestation nor less weight, than it had at the period from which we commence our inquiries. So likewise in Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia we have gained, rather than lost strength. Look then the whole country over, and it is increase which we notice, and not diminution. That this augmentation of our numbers has not equalled the sanguine hopes which some among us entertained, we are ready to admit; but we believe it has been as great as *with the means which we have used* ought to have been expected, and to us it is clear that the tendencies which these and other less conspicuous facts reveal are strongly towards the diffusion of a liberal and sound theology.

It may be said however, that we have chosen to conceal

our chagrin at the state of things nearer home beneath this affirmation of progress at a distance. Not so. We wish to look at home, and see and tell the truth here also. An impression, we learn, has gone abroad to some extent that Unitarianism is not in as good a condition in Boston, or in Massachusetts, now as it was when Dr. Beecher gave forth his prediction that there should be an Orthodox church in every town in the State. Supposing that his prediction had effected its own fulfilment, as human predictions, when uttered with a confidence that is the first element of success, sometimes do, what would now be the result? That Unitarianism would be absolutely weaker than it was then? Not necessarily, at least; for it might meanwhile not only have gathered new energy, but have actually enlarged its domain. It might *relatively* have less force, because an antagonist influence had acquired a still more rapid growth, — and this we believe to have been the case, in consequence of circumstances to which we shall presently advert; but the fact of its absolute increase of strength might be, as we believe it is, beyond all just dispute. There are more Unitarian societies in this Commonwealth now than there were at the period to which we refer; and many, if not most of them are in a healthier condition. And how stands the case in Boston? In 1830, there were in this city fourteen churches, (including one under the charge of the ministry-at-large,) connected with our denomination. There are now eighteen. At that time, and subsequently, some of these churches were embarrassed by debt, and had not the numerical strength which the capacity of their respective houses of worship might have secured for them. Now, we believe, without an exception, they are free from debt, and but in one instance, where an unhappy dissension, having no reference to theological doctrine, has greatly enfeebled the society, they include large bodies of worshippers. We mean to say, what cannot be contradicted, that there are not only more places of Unitarian worship in Boston now than there were fourteen years ago, but that our older congregations are more numerous. Here then, again, the facts and the tendencies seem to be in our favor.

Still we are far from maintaining that there has not been a *relative* decrease of our denomination in this city. It

does not include so large a proportion of the citizens as it once did. The Trinitarian sects have also grown, and if we place them together in one scale, and ourselves in the other, we must acknowledge that they have gained a greater augmentation of weight than we. Both in numbers and in influence — we do not wish to hide the truth — they have outgrown the body to which we belong. There is more of Orthodox theology, and more of Orthodox influence in Boston than there was when the Unitarian controversy subsided some twenty years back, and more than there was even five years ago. But this is easily explained, in consistency with all that we have before said. The last few years have seen an increase of population unprecedented in any former period in the history of this metropolis. In 1820 the population was 43,000; it now exceeds 100,000. Of this large increase the greater part has come into the city from the country. The larger proportion of these new inhabitants have of course come from Trinitarian churches, because in the country Trinitarianism is, and has always been, the prevalent religion, and they bring with them their Trinitarian prepossessions and habits. Many, and perhaps most of them bring an aversion and dread of Unitarianism which have been fostered by the religious teachers to whom they have listened. When, therefore, they plant themselves here, they seek the religious associations to which they have been accustomed, and form their parochial connexions accordingly. It was an inevitable result, which the least foresight might have anticipated, that a growth like that which has marked the recent history of this place must add strength to other denominations rather than to our own.

One consequence of this influx of population we have not been able to contemplate without regret and anxiety. We have seen the moral influence of the town passing out of our hands. Once — and the time is not very remote — social influence in Boston was almost wholly with the Unitarians. Our public men, our men of letters, the men who gave an impulse to public sentiment and directed opinion, were members of our body. This preponderance of social power we no longer retain, for the obvious reason which has just been assigned, — that we hold a less prominent position than formerly, when we were in point of numbers

the principal sect in the city. We do not complain of this change. It is but right that the opinions of others should have their due share of representation in the various departments of public responsibility, and their proper measure of influence in society. Our regret is founded upon the conviction that the best interests of the social state are advanced by the prevalence of liberal sentiment, and our anxiety arises from a distrust of the use which Orthodoxy will make of the power it shall have acquired. We have known too much of its exclusive and despotic character, where it has held the ascendancy, not to be apprehensive of the effect that would be realized, if it should wield public opinion here. We wish our friends, who sometimes express great satisfaction in the increase of our numbers, to be aware of the fact, that so long as other denominations increase faster than we, our influence in the community must decline.

We do not suppose that the loss of influence is confined to Boston. We are not relatively so strong in the Commonwealth as we were in days which we all remember. Although the difference is not so perceptible beyond as within this immediate neighborhood, it is sufficient to deserve our notice. The cause may be found, we believe, in the activity of other sects, and the supineness of our own. There has been a deliberate, strenuous, and well planned concert of action against us. Means have been diligently used to turn the confidence of the people in other directions. Especially have the Sunday schools been made instruments, not so much of sectarian warfare as of sectarian protection. Thousands and tens of thousands of children have been trained up in attachment to opinions which we reject, and for which they are ready to labor in the church and out of the church. This process has been going on for some years, and we begin to experience its effects. A new generation is entering upon the exercise of political rights, and a participation in the management of the public interests, — a generation who have been carefully instructed to oppose Unitarianism. That it may prevail against this educated resistance, we need only to be faithful to the service which it demands of us. But if we grow careless, and leave the truth to defend or spread itself, we may have the mortification of seeing it driven back from the position which it has already gained.



With all these deductions, we derive from the history of the last few years much more occasion to rejoice over the present state of our denomination, than to be disheartened for the future. There have been influences and events suited to place obstacles in its way, which, however, have not prevented progress. We have just alluded to one of these, in the organized and disciplined force of opinion of late brought to bear against us. Besides this external hindrance, we have suffered the disadvantage of circumstances and dispositions among ourselves, of which we took notice in our former article. We have been troubled with differences, which, though they have not destroyed our unity, yet have impaired our strength. How much more might we not have done for the diffusion of our faith, if our sympathies had flowed together. Then there has been that morbid dread of sectarianism of which we spoke. This has been a continual restraint upon our exertions. It has taken at times an attitude of hostility to plans which have been proposed for the propagation of our tenets, and at other times has chosen to give its countenance to opinions which it regarded as unscriptural, rather than to those which it theoretically approved. Strange as it must seem to many of our readers, we have known instances in which Unitarians have been more liberal to other denominations than to their own, actually promoting error that they might escape the charge of a sectarian attachment to truth, and doing injustice to their own convictions that they might avoid the sin of uncharitableness.

What disappointments, too, and bereavements have we endured in the termination of the most efficient ministries on which our body could lean. Without claiming for the ministry an undue importance, we may be allowed to assume that the prosperity of a religious denomination, its influence in the land, and its success in spreading a knowledge of its distinctive opinions must depend mainly upon its clergy. Perhaps no denomination was ever more favored with an enlightened and devoted clergy than we have been; and certainly none could record in the same space of time a greater loss of ministerial service than we have endured within the last ten years. It does not become us to speak here of the living who have felt themselves compelled by the indications of Providence to exchange the

pulpit for the chair of academical instruction or the retreat of rural employment, and we would not presume to question the correctness, as we could not for a moment doubt the purity of their decision. But that such men should have been withdrawn from the work which they were prosecuting with so much benefit to the Church, may be numbered among the disadvantages with which we have been obliged to contend. Still more serious in its effect upon our prosecution of the service entrusted to us as defenders of Divine truth, has been the loss of those honored men who have entered upon their reward. We need not name them, for their names are written on every heart. Nor will we attempt to describe the relations which they sustained to the cause which they, with us, held dearer than life. That one after another of the very foremost in our number, leaders whom we followed, not with a blind reverence, but from the impulse of an ennobling sympathy; men who had won for our exposition of the Gospel an attention which would not be given to a less persuasive eloquence, and whose characters extorted the admiration which would have been denied to a less harmonious excellence; that such men should be successively taken in what, speaking after the manner of this world, we should call the prime of their life and the midst of their usefulness, and in the brief interval of a few months we be deprived of their counsel and co-operation, when, as we should have judged, these were most needed by us, is a part of the Divine Providence to which we can only bow in the submission of a religious trust. Sacred and precious shall be their remembrance! Like the dewy freshness of morning, shall it come over our wearied spirits. Like a voice of sweet entreaty, shall it persuade us to new diligence in the work of the Lord. Like a ray of sunlight shall it rest on our path, to guide and cheer us when we are ready to faint under the depression of their absence. In their lives did they render good service to God's holy truth, and in their deaths did they prove its sufficiency to man in his greatest need.\*

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\* We may not let this opportunity pass of contradicting what we are tempted to call a profligate falsehood. It has been said in private and in public, through the press and from the pulpit, that Dr. Channing renounced his Unitarian views before his death. It has evidently been thought

Notwithstanding these circumstances which have interrupted or checked our efficiency as a denomination, we have steadily increased, not only in numerical, but in moral strength. In spite of differences and hindrances we have been continually gaining instead of losing ground as a communion of Christian believers. And there is no point of time in our past history at which we have exhibited such signs of vigorous health as at the present moment. We have noticed the evidence which is given in the visible prosperity of our churches. We might adduce the interest which our denomination is taking in the establishment of new societies, and in the employment of missionary preachers. We might advert to the contributions of the last year for these objects, — small in comparison with the gifts of other sects whose numbers ten-fold or a hundred-fold exceed ours, and who have been trained by years of discipline to the habit of religious beneficence, — but furnishing the promise of a larger liberality hereafter. We might cite the condition of our periodical journals, insufficiently supported as they still are, but yet receiving a constant increase of patronage. Is it not an indication of some *life* in so small a body, that they are able to sustain two weekly religious papers and two monthly magazines, besides the larger journal whose pages we are now filling? Or, to name only

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that the influence of all which his writings contain in vindication of such opinions would be very much abated if this story were believed. It is as groundless as it is untrue. The only foundation that, we can learn, has ever been alleged in its support is a passage in a letter to a correspondent in England; written not just before his death, but some time previously, when, if any such change had taken place in his belief, he could not, as an honest man, have suffered the circulation of his works to continue without a public declaration that he no longer considered them faithful expositions of truth. In that letter he remarks, in effect, that he is every day less a Unitarian; but, in such a connexion as to show most clearly that he intends only to express his growing dislike to sectarian organization, which, though always strong, it is well known, increased upon him in later years. That an expression whose meaning was so obvious, should have been perverted to the use which has been made of it, both in this country and in England, is one of the mournful examples of the dishonesty to which men are tempted by religious bigotry. Dr. Channing died, as he had lived, a Unitarian. We speak advisedly and solemnly on this point. We had opportunities of knowing whether any change came over his opinions after the publication of his collected writings which he authorized, and we pronounce the statement that he relinquished his Unitarian persuasions to be utterly false. Let it never be repeated by any one who cares for truth or justice, for his own honor or for the memory of the dead.

one other indication of our present state, we might remind our readers of the scene presented one month since at the Collation "furnished by the Unitarian laymen of Boston to the clergy of their denomination," when between eight and nine hundred persons sat down at a festival, which was attended by no more only because the largest hall which could be procured in the city would receive no more guests. Nor was the spectacle presented at any of our recent Anniversaries or Conventions suited to create discouragement. We do not say these things in a vain spirit of vaunting. We wish only that those of our readers who may not have observed the facts of our history with sufficient care, should hold in just estimation the announcement which ever and anon adorns the columns of some religious newspaper, that Unitarianism is just dying or quite dead!

We do not intend to give the impression, that we have no need to be wakeful or active. At no time has there been more occasion for a vigilant fidelity to the cause which we have undertaken to maintain. We are inclined to think, that at no previous period has there been a more determined purpose on the part of those who regard our opinions as contrary to the Gospel to eradicate them from the land, or a stronger hope that their efforts would be crowned with success. A recent example of the spirit and the hope with which they are filled is too significant to be overlooked. The late election for a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College was not more remarkable for the course which was pursued to eject Mr. Putnam from the seat into which he had once been chosen, than for the triumphant auguries respecting the future condition of that institution, into which some persons were afterwards by their great joy, though rather imprudently, betrayed. Of the secret history of that election, of the consultations and the calculations which preceded it, we perhaps know more than it was intended should be known beyond the proper circle, and we at one time thought of putting upon our pages a statement of the whole matter, with an examination of the arguments on which gentlemen relied for setting aside an election which had been fully made and officially proclaimed, and over which the Board had therefore no longer any retractive control, the remedy for their error, if error they had committed, lying not with them, but with



the judicial tribunals of the Commonwealth. Of the character of one of those arguments, particularly, we are strongly tempted to utter ourselves as we felt at the time, and have felt ever since. But we doubt whether any good would come from enkindling a controversy into which some warmth of personal feeling would necessarily enter, and as we do not covet strife, we will not provoke it. We would only remind the friends of the College, that if they would preserve it from becoming the plaything of political demagogues and the captive of religious exclusiveness, they must merge all petty discontents in their devotion to its interests, as the only institution of its class in the country where the principles of a true religious liberality are practically maintained. There are those who are conscientiously bent on making it a sectarian institution. We join with those who are as conscientiously determined, if possible, to prevent their accomplishing their object. Save us only from the idle confidence that sees no danger till the mine is ready to be sprung, and we fear not the result.

We should say something about the conversions from Unitarianism which are bruited through the country, if we thought them of any moment, except in view of the false impressions which they are often used to communicate. We neither deny them, nor are surprised at them. At a time when instability of opinion is one of the characteristics of the age, and when every sect is losing and every sect is gaining members, it would be unaccountably strange, if there were no defections from our number. When Episcopalianism counts its accessions to the ministry from what it sweetly calls "Dissenting bodies" by hundreds, and Romanism even receives into its bosom the descendants of a Puritan ancestry, when Presbyterians become Baptists, and Baptists become Second Adventists, and New England Christians become followers of Joe Smith, is it enough to fill us with amazement or terror, as if our faith had no power over the heart, that here and there a Unitarian becomes Orthodox? When we consider the pains that are taken, the visits that are made, the books that are lent, the tracts that are left, the stories that are told, the things that are said and done by men and women, by ministers who are so positive that few dare to contradict them, and by misses whose zeal is so amiable that some are unwilling to give it

the pain of disappointment, we only wonder that conversions from us are so infrequent, and conversions to us so voluntary. To regard the changes of opinion which occasionally occur as proofs either of the weakness or the strength of a sect, is to establish one of the most fallacious of all principles of judgment.

We do not attach very great value, on the other hand, to the amount of secret Unitarianism which we are often told exists in the bosom of Orthodox communities and Orthodox churches. It may exist there, although, if it be secret, we have always wondered how any one knew its amount; and have also been ready to ask, what it is worth to us or to the cause of truth while it remains in secrecy. We do not however believe that there is any considerable prevalence of Unitarian opinion in the dominant sects around us. There is too much ignorance about our views of religion to allow this to be possible. We know that a more liberal tone has been given to theological speculation by some of the eminent scholars of this branch of the Church, and we presume that on the whole the tendency is towards a sounder interpretation of the Bible. But with other members of the same Communion we have seen an exasperation of their regard for the creeds and catechisms, the dogmas and phrases of primitive Calvinism, and which party will secure the more powerful influence does not seem to us so clear as to some of our friends. However this avowed difference shall end, the unseen and unknown vein of Unitarian sentiment which is described as running through the Orthodox Church, we suspect, will never yield much valuable ore. A great many probably remain in that Church, because they find themselves there, who have no decided religious belief and no strong interest in religious subjects. When they hear one of our preachers or take up one of our books, they are very likely to express an approbation of what they see or hear, because it is rational and intelligible. But we should be reluctant to build our confidence in the spread of a pure doctrine on such men.

Upon one other notion which prevails widely among us we do not agree with some on whose judgment we should generally rely. We fear that there is a great deal of loose declamation about the West. We do not believe that the Western country is all ready to receive the labors of the

Unitarian minister, is waiting only to be gathered like the harvest by the hand of the reaper. We believe there is a great and a glorious opportunity to spread the truth in that part of the country, and we rejoice that any have turned their faces towards that field of labor. We hope they will be followed by others and many others, for they will all find room to work. But they must *work*. A missionary will not find the people eager to build him a church as soon as he proposes to occupy its pulpit. He will encounter unbelief and indifference and worldliness, and false religion and imperfect views of religion, and prejudice and bigotry and hostility. If he will go out prepared to meet these trials, and will not be discouraged by his early experience, he will obtain an audience, a congregation, and an influence that shall reward him for the sacrifice he has made in leaving the home of his youth. But if he enter upon the work with extravagant anticipations, or if we send him thither with erroneous conceptions of the service he must execute, he will probably return in disgust and we shall receive him with coldness. Let us talk about the West at our Anniversaries as if we were speaking of realities, and not of visions.

We need pursue these remarks no farther. It is time they were brought to a close. Our readers will probably admit that we have sought to speak the truth. We have wished to set before them neither too bright nor too dark a picture of our condition. It has its sombre hues. And yet it is prevailingly such as we love to look upon. We do not expect a rapid diffusion of our opinions through the land, but we are confident that their progressive and permanent ascendancy may be secured by a discharge of the duty which we owe to them. Let us as a denomination be faithful to the full extent of our abilities and opportunities, and the truth for which we render thanks in every prayer that goes up from our hearts will have, if not a free, a successful course, and will be glorified by those who now reject it. Three things must we do, three rules must we observe, if we would acquit ourselves of our duty. We must hold our opinions with the grasp of a firm faith, we must maintain and cultivate union among ourselves, and we must show forth the power of our persuasions by their effects upon our characters and lives.

E. S. G.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Symbolism: or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced in their Symbolical Writings.* By JOHN ADAM MOEHLER, D. D. Translated from the German by James B. Robertson, Esq. New York: 1844. 8vo. pp. 575.

THIS book is a valuable aid to the student of theology, and will not be found an unpalatable drug by any man at all curious in historical or philosophical inquiries. It is written by a free-minded, learned, devout, and by no means irrational Roman Catholic, upon the points at issue between his own and the Protestant doctrines.

Moehler seems to have been the most eminent of modern Catholic theologians in Germany. After filling several posts of honor in Wurtemberg, he accepted a theological chair at Munich, by invitation of the king of Bavaria, in 1835. In 1838 he died, aged forty-two. He left several important works to the public, the most prominent of which were "Unity in the Church, or the Principle of Catholicism," "Athanasius the Great, or the Church in the time of her struggle with Arianism," and the present treatise. The translator deems the "Symbolism" superior to any other work in exhibiting the present relations of the Roman and Protestant Communions. Of course the reader immediately asks wherein it is better than the great Bossuet's "History of the Variations." The reply is, that Moehler gives a more *internal* view, exhibits the doctrines of some more recent denominations, writes with more philosophical depth than the Bishop of Meaux, and above all, without going into the minutiae of modern Rationalism, yet ever has it in mind, and writes from the stand-point of the present age. Without discussing the whole catalogue of Protestant sects, he treats of Romanism in contrast with the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and those of the minor denominations, as he calls them, Anabaptists, Quakers, Moravians, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Socinians, Arminians; whereas Bossuet confines his attention to the Lutherans and Calvinists. The points of comparison are as to the Origin of evil, Original Sin, Justification, the Sacraments, the Church. The authorities are given from the various creeds with great fulness, and the reader is thus put in possession of knowledge not elsewhere easily to be acquired with so much exactness. The tone throughout is mild



and candid, although far from lacking in positiveness. The most remarkable feature of the book, to those who read it from our point of view, is its assertion of superior liberality on the part of Catholic doctrine over Protestantism. Moehler almost takes ground with us against Luther and Calvin, as to the free agency and rational power of man and the relation of works to faith. He deems that the moral faculties are impaired by the fall, although by no means so utterly ruined as Luther and Calvin maintained. His view of the moral capacity of the Heathen, and the destiny of those of them who have followed the light they had, leads us surely in one thing to prefer Rome to Geneva.

Of course the Socinians are not spared by his pen, although he seems to consider them very consistent Protestants. Of Unitarian doctrines, as held by us, he seems to have no knowledge. He has some excellent remarks on the Quakers, and offers some suggestions to the followers of Swedenborg that must somewhat shake the walls of their New Jerusalem.

The book at once reminds us of a kindred work by an English Churchman, Maurice's "*Kingdom of Christ.*" Maurice is the better artist, although we should deem Moehler the deeper theologian. Yet both the Englishman and the German are to be regarded as among the fairest and most instructive writers of the age. Maurice is evidently driving very hard against the Romanist, whilst Moehler has very little to say about the English Church, and probably did not know much about the present school of Anglo-Catholics. The new movement in England had not made much progress when he wrote, nor had William Palmer, the Oxford historian, as yet proclaimed, "I should like to see the Patriarch of Constantinople and our Archbishop of Canterbury go barefoot to Rome, throw their arms round the Pope, kiss him, and not let him go till they had persuaded him to be more reasonable." We are inclined to think the embrace would be a very long one, before much effect would be produced upon the venerable father in the Vatican. Surely appearances indicate that the successor of Augustin would be called upon to make more concessions than the successor of St. Peter, and that England will become Romish quite as soon as Rome will become Anglican. All Maurice's labor and philosophising have not convinced us that Roman Catholics are less reasonable than "Anglo-Catholics."

"Two systems of doctrine," says Dr. Pusey, "have now, and probably for the last time, met in conflict; the system of Geneva and the Catholic system." True it is, that Prelacy and Calvinism are beginning to fight all over Christendom. Our place is with neither; neither with a Church under the rule of Bishops, nor with one under the rule of Calvin's dogmas. From the pre-

late's mitre and the dogmatist's pentagon, good Providence save us, and lead us in simplicity to him who is "the way, the truth and the life." The mitre is quite as easy as the five-pointed creed.

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*Human Nature. A Philosophical Exposition of the Divine Institution of Reward and Punishment, which obtains in the Physical, Intellectual and Moral Constitution of Man; with an Introductory Essay. To which is added a Series of Ethical Observations, written during the perusal of the Rev. James Martineau's "Endeavors after the Christian Life."* London. 1844. 12mo. pp. 91.

As is intimated in the title-page, we are indebted for this "Philosophical Exposition," and the "Essay" and "Observations" which accompany it, to the volume of sermons by Mr. Martineau, noticed in the last number but one of this journal. The "Introductory Essay" is a little too transcendental for us. Certain we are that the following summing up of the doctrine will not "amaze" the reader, by its "manifest clearness and simplicity."

"God is infinite in *being*, hence he is infinite in wisdom and power, therefore infinite in happiness, for *being* is the antecedent and originator of these.

The greatest characteristic of a genuine, comprehensive science of human nature — of TRUE RELIGION, is the recognition that *being* is the greatest good, it is the one and only source whence happiness is derived, it is the designer and executor of everything which exists.

When man shall become livingly conscious of this great principle, when he shall appreciate and realize its full significance and applicability, then will the vastness and sublime propriety of Christ's declaration appear, 'the kingdom of God is within you;' then all divisions amongst mankind shall cease, all disputation and strife shall be forgotten; the innumerable sects and parties that perplex and confuse themselves with questions concerning Heaven and Hell, Reward and Punishment, Right and Wrong, now seemingly so mysterious and obscure, will discover and be amazed at their manifest clearness and simplicity, and the extreme facility of their solution!"

The "Exposition of the Divine Institution of Reward and Punishment" is better, as it gives illustrations, some of them happy, of the *uses* of pain, considered as announcing the presence or the approach of evil in the moral as well as in the physical constitution of man. But the writer has allowed himself to be betrayed into the vice of exaggeration, so common among theorists at the present day; and made a really important truth to assume the form of extravagance and paradox. All will agree, we suppose, that the pains of conscience are intended to give warning to those who will take it; and again, that moral

insensibility, a paralysis of the soul, is part of the sinner's doom, *in this world*. But when we are told, that "man's greatest absolute evil consists in an *unconscious* decrease and retrogression of being towards negation" (p. 31); that remorse "is not, strictly speaking, the punisher of sin, but the indicator of its presence;" and that the only "true and ever enduring punishment of moral transgressions, is decrease of vitality in the faculties of the moral nature" (p. 44); most persons will demur. Most persons will still believe that it is possible to conceive of one thing worse than annihilation; to wit, continued and unending existence in misery: and again, that remorse may be justly regarded as an evil and a punishment as far as it goes, though, in some cases, the means of preventing a worse evil and a worse punishment. It is plain that this writer often confounds susceptibility of remorse, which is the consequence of what God has done, with remorse itself, which is the consequence of what man has done.

The "Ethical Observations" are short comments on different passages in Mr. Martineau's Discourses, originally written on the margins of that book; and there they might have remained without material loss to the public.

W.

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1. *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, written specially for Children and Youth.* Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 1844. 12mo. pp. 160.
  2. *Sketches from the Life of Christ.* By Mrs. H. V. CHENEY, Author of "A Peep at the Pilgrims," "Village Sketches," etc. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 147.

THE first of these is a reprint of an English work, a fact which should have been announced in connection with its title. The incidents in the life of the Saviour are well enough arranged, and in this its merit consists, rather than in its power to affect the feelings and reach the fountains of spiritual life in the soul. It has little warmth or coloring of style or sentiment, and consists too much in a bare detail of facts and incidents to satisfy us; though there may be those who will not object to this feature of the work. Faults of taste, too, we think occasionally occur in it. Yet we are not disposed to criticise the production with severity. It is designed chiefly for the young, and if it succeeds in interesting them, may be found useful. We hope, however, that it will not be allowed to take the place of a work with a similar title by the late Rev. H. Ware, jr.

Mrs. Cheney's book is what it professes to be, "sketches" from the life of Christ, and not a continuous history. It was commenced, the author tells us, for the use of her "own family," and aims



less at originality than impression. Yet it is quite as original as works of this kind usually are. The subjects selected are not treated in any dry, formal way, but a few incidents are related and the words of the Saviour are given, when required, in an easy and flowing narrative. The style is occasionally a little ambitious, but it is lively and graceful, and the volume is pervaded by pure sentiment and a serious and devout spirit. The writer, in a few instances, puts little speeches into the mouths of some of her personages, as those of Joseph and Mary, perhaps once or twice in questionable taste, but the character of the Saviour himself is everywhere allowed to stand out in its original, simple truth, majesty and loveliness, and the book may with safety, and we think, with advantage, be put into the hands of the young, as one combining the qualities of attractiveness and utility.

L.

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1. *Memoir of Miss Elizabeth Carter: illustrating the Union of Learning and Piety.* By the AUTHOR OF "MIRIAM" and "JOANNA OF NAPLES." Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 68.
  2. *The Cross and Anchor; written for the Fair in aid of the Mariners' Church, Providence, R. I., April, 1844.* By Mrs. EDWARD B. HALL. Providence. 1844. 32mo. pp. 31.

As these publications are both by the same author, we shall notice them together, though the subjects to which they relate are somewhat different. The smaller of the two, which contains what the writer modestly calls "trifles," is well adapted to the purpose for which it was written,—to aid the cause of temperance, and the reformation of seamen. We cannot say that all the pieces, which compose the volume, possess any high order of poetic merit. Nor did the occasion require it. There are, however, two pieces which are an exception to this remark. We refer to the "Pearl Diver's Song," and the concluding piece entitled "On, forever."

The pleasure afforded us by the delightful little biography of Miss Carter is diminished only by the regret, awakened by the fact stated in the preface, that the writer, having originally intended it to be one of a series to be entitled "Biographical Sketches of six distinguished English ladies of the last century," has found herself compelled to relinquish her plan. Of these Sketches, that now before us is the only one which has been executed, and this was prepared some years ago. The name of Miss Carter, we suppose, is not very familiar to the readers of the fashionable literature of the day; yet she was one of the little constellation of female writers of the last century, who merited all the praise she ever received, and that was not



slight; one to whom Johnson, whose society she enjoyed, was never rude; who associated with Butler, and Richardson, Mrs. Montague, and "others of the wisest and best whom England could produce;" the translator of Epictetus; the mistress of we know not how many different languages, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, and Arabic, — at a time, too, when to acquire a knowledge of some of them was far more difficult and implied much greater distinction than at present; and what is more important than all, a devout and humble Christian, amiable, pure-minded, attentive to common cares, to the duties of friendship, and the claims of the domestic circle. A contemporary of the writers of the old school of fiction and poetry, of the days of Mrs. Radcliffe, of Richardson, and Pope, she lived to witness the change which came over the spirit of literature early in the present century, and bore testimony to its pure tendency. She died in 1806, in the 89th year of her age. Mrs. Hall's sketch professes to be only a slight one. It is well executed however, in good taste, and without lavish praise; and at the present day, when so many books of a worthless character, and worse than worthless, are thrown out upon the public and read, we cannot but regard such a volume, small and unpretending as it is, as a most welcome gift. L.

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*The Scenery-Shower, with Word-Paintings of the Beautiful, the Picturesque, and the Grand in Nature.* By WARREN BURTON, Author of "The District School as it was." Boston: Wm. D. Ticknor & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 119.

THERE is a little tinge of romance in this volume, without doubt. Some persons may pronounce the expressions occasionally rather too high-flown, and think that the author deals quite enough in exclamation, and throws about his fine epithets with a sufficiently lavish hand; but we can easily pardon his raptures, in which there really seems to be nothing of affectation, but all is true, genuine feeling. The tendency of his mind, perhaps, is to dwell on mere material beauty rather than on associated qualities and emotions. Yet if his book has the effect, as we think it must have, of leading to a habit of observation, it will accomplish a valuable object. Mr. Burton does not attempt to reason, but so to paint nature as to awaken attention and excite to observation. From what we have said, it will be inferred that so far as he accomplishes this, we believe him to be a benefactor to the public, and especially to the youth of our land. And such is our opinion; and notwithstanding some little peculiarities, and especially some quaintnesses of expression found in the volume and a slight ambiguity in part of its title, which, after

all, will prove no great drawback to the pleasure of its perusal, we cordially recommend it as well worthy of being read. L.

*Sweet Auburn, and Mount Auburn, with other Poems.* By CAROLINE F. ORNE. Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 16mo. pp. 196.

WE can hardly find it in our hearts, and yet our consciences require us, to do the duty of an "Examiner" to these Poems. Poems we call them, though really almost their only claim to the title, *ποιήματα*, consists in their being *made*. We are sorry to have to speak thus. We are confident that we opened this beautifully printed volume with the kindest prepossessions toward the writer; but we must say that she seems to us to take a low place, in point of poetry, in that class of which Alonzo Lewis, perhaps, stands at the head. It appears to us that she labors under a radical error as to the difference between poetry and prose. Sometimes we seem to be looking at Wordsworth's carpet, wrong side upward, and then, ever and anon, we seem to catch a glimpse, through some accidental rent, of a patch of the true side. The "Mount Auburn," in many parts, strikes us as a feeble translation of the rhythmical prose of Judge Story's beautiful Consecration Address, into prosy blank rhythm. The snatches of eulogy on the distinguished dead, and on some whom it had been more delicate for the author not to have paraded thus, (to say nothing of the notices of the living,) are, most of them, seriously defective and in bad taste. We are faintly comforted by having to except from our sweeping severity three pieces, — "The Lady Arabella," "The Removal of Napoleon's Remains," and "Time, the Hunter." The last of these, though it reminds us vividly of a German song, "The Mightiest Hunter of all is Death," is, we suppose, original, and has a good deal of the spirit and style of Barry Cornwall. We beg the author to forgive us for saying, in conclusion, that we cannot encourage with our approval, (so far as it may go,) the publication of such feeble strains as these. We fear that the lyre which "Mount Auburn" and "Sweet Auburn" cannot awaken, must hang awhile longer on the willows. We shall be as ready as any to catch the first murmur of the poetic breeze through its strings. B.

*Stories for Children, intended as Hints to Parents.* By Mrs. R. J. CLEVELAND. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 191.

THIS is in part a republication, six of the eight "stories," of which the volume is composed, having been already before the public. They have however been long out of print. They

are here collected into one volume, and two new pieces are added. "They now," says the advertisement prefixed to the volume, "constitute a series of stories for children from two or three to ten or twelve years of age." Their republication will be hailed with gratitude by those who are acquainted with their merits. They were universally regarded at the time as among the best books for children, and in truth, simplicity, correctness of sentiment, and pleasant and impressive method, they are surpassed by few, if any, which have been published since. Little Wentworth's Morning Lesson; Little Susan taught to Pray; Week Days and Sunday; Little Emery's Sunday Lesson; The Little Boy who minded Trifles; Little John convinced of the uses of Learning; True Parental Love; and Fruits and Flowers, are the titles of the stories, some of which will call up pleasant remembrances of other days, and constitute a sufficient letter of recommendation to the volume. L.

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*Two Sermons, delivered before the Second Church and Society, Sunday, March 10, 1844, on the Occasion of taking down their Ancient Place of Worship.* By their Minister, CHANDLER ROBBINS. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 77.

It is a melancholy business — the taking down of these old edifices which link the mind with the past, and Mr. Robbins has done full justice to the feelings with which the work of demolition must be commenced. The venerable pile had stood a hundred and twenty-three years, and was the oldest temple of worship in the city of Boston. The difficulties which led to the building of the house, and the circumstances of its erection are related by Mr. Robbins; its original appearance, and the mode then prevalent of conducting the services of public worship, very different from the present, are described; the history and character of its Pastors are given, — Waldron, Welstead, Gray, Pemberton, Lathrop, Ware; changes and improvements which from time to time took place are noticed, and the history of the society is brought down to the present day. The copious notes appended to the Sermons contain a body of interesting facts and anecdotes illustrative of the ecclesiastical history of the times. Mr. Robbins labored under the disadvantage of being compelled, during a great portion of the period to which his discourses relate, to glean after the late Rev. Henry Ware Jr., whose two Sermons commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the house were given to the public at the time; but his industry has enabled him to collect much which is worth preserving, and any church may be well satisfied to have two such faithful chroniclers. The parting service was not less beautiful than appropriate. L.



*A Discourse on the Principles involved in the Pusey Controversy.* By GEORGE W. BURNAP. Baltimore. 1844. 8vo. pp. 24.

LIKE most of Mr. Burnap's performances, this discourse is marked by strong and independent thought. The topics are old and hackneyed, yet he succeeds in investing them with freshness and interest, and into the compass of a few pages has crowded a great deal of solid argument. The discourse contains a clear statement of the nature of the ministry, and a good defence of the freedom of the churches as they were originally constituted. It may not please a Puseyite, nor satisfy those who would exalt sectarian differences above the great essential principles of the Gospel of Jesus, but as the world grows wiser and more thoroughly Christian, these differences will sink in its esteem, and he will be honored as the true disciple of Christ who is led by his spirit.

L.

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*The Annexation of Texas. A Sermon, delivered in the Masonic Temple, on Fast Day.* By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston. 1844. 32mo. pp. 42.

THIS is an earnest, free, and plain discourse on a subject fraught with interest,—the “Annexation of Texas,”—a subject on which we believe many of our pulpits uttered their sentiments on the day of the last annual Fast. After stating, at some length, his views of the duty of ministers of the Gospel to speak on “public questions,” Mr. Clarke considers the causes which will induce the South to insist on Annexation. These are pecuniary and political advantages, and advantages to the cause of Slavery. He then treats of the evils of Annexation, among which are the strengthening and perpetuating of Slavery, violation of the Constitution, injustice to Mexico, probable war, and a dangerous extension of our territory. The discourse is timely, and we hope will obtain the circulation, to which its merit, the importance of its subject, and the cheap form in which it is issued, fully entitle it.

L.

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*The Position and Prospects of the Medical Student. An Address delivered before the Boylston Medical Society of Harvard University, January 12, 1844.* By OLIVER W. HOLMES, M. D. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 28.

THIS Address bears the impress of a well furnished and vigorous mind, deeply imbued, we should say, with the love of science, and attentive especially to its practical applications. It comes from the member of a profession, few of the publications of which have been recorded on our pages, but in the ranks of



which have been found many of the best friends and brightest ornaments of humanity. We have read the pamphlet with no little interest. It takes a rapid survey of recent scientific discoveries which throw light upon the nature and laws of diseased action, or intimately connect themselves with the healing art, — discoveries, says the writer, which place the medical student on a footing very different from that occupied by his predecessors a few years ago. Dr. Holmes is an uncompromising defender of the claims of science in opposition to what he regards, in common with many, as the empiricism, the extravagancies, and the ultra-radicalism of the day; yet he has some animating words to utter to the young student, and bids him "go forward in hope and serene courage." "Go then," says he, "to meet your chosen science, who waits for you like a bride adorned with her ancestral jewels, and crowned with fresh gathered garlands." L.

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*An Exposition of Facts relating to the Administration of the Hawes Charity, at South Boston.* By LEMUEL CAPEN, former Minister of the Hawes Place Society. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 26.

*The Reply of the Hawes Place Congregational Society, at South Boston, to a Pamphlet entitled "An Exposition of Facts relating to the Administration of the Hawes Charity, by Lemuel Capen, former Minister of the Hawes Place Society."* By a COMMITTEE OF SAID SOCIETY. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 26.

THESE pamphlets relate to a subject upon which it might not become us to express an opinion, as we understand that the main question which is discussed in them has been submitted to the decision of a judicial tribunal. This question concerns the legality of a by-law, regulating the admission of members, which was adopted by the vote of a majority of the Hawes Place Society, but which the minority hold has created a forfeiture of the trust devised by the late Mr. Hawes. Mr. Capen writes with an earnestness betokening sincere conviction and a strong sense of duty, while the Reply is written with a clearness and strength of statement that must produce a favorable impression upon the reader. G.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ministers and Churches.* — We still have changes in the ministry to record, occasioned by other circumstances than death.—Rev. Mr. Ingersol, who has long been the devoted and faithful pastor of the Unitarian church in Burlington, Vt., and who of late years has pursued his work under the discouragement of painful disease, has been compelled by its continuance, after every attempt for its mitigation, to resign his charge, and seek renovation of his system in less severe labor. We trust that he has not deferred this step too long for his own recovery. A solitary watchman on one of the extreme positions of our Zion, he has served at his post day and night with an undaunted spirit, and a perseverance which has been rewarded by the prosperity of the congregation over which he was placed. — Rev. Mr. Bulfinch has felt that duty to himself and his family required him to relinquish the pastoral care of the church in Washington, D. C., and has returned to New England. — Rev. Mr. Alger has dissolved his connexion with the society at Chelsea, of which he took charge as successor of the late Dr. Tuckerman. — Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Cabotville, has relinquished his ministry in that place. — Rev. Mr. Cushing of Milwaukie, W. T., has been visited by an illness of such severity as to render him unable to prosecute his work. — Rev. Mr. Barry of Framingham, has been induced by the state of his health to take a year of absence from his people, and has sailed for Europe.

We are gratified by the evidence which our older congregations are giving of interest in the attempts of others to secure the benefit of such religious institutions as they can wholly enjoy. Three applications are at this moment before our community, for aid in the establishment of societies in important positions, where Unitarian preaching is of recent date. Rev. Mr. Harrington is soliciting contributions towards the payment of the amount for which the society at Albany, N. Y. has become responsible by the purchase and repairs of their meeting-house, and has reason to anticipate full success.—Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, Canada, in a visit to the United States, has met with similar encouragement. The congregation of which he is the minister have purchased an eligible site for a church, and have commenced the building, in the hope of finishing it before the next winter. It will be a small, but neat structure. — The Unitarian Society at Hartford, Conn., have also presented their case to the consideration of their friends in other cities. They think it important that they should erect a church which would command attention by its good appearance, and therefore propose to expend a larger sum than is usual at the commencement of such an undertaking. — The new society at Southington, Conn., have completed their house of worship, which will be dedicated in the course of this month. — The Second Church in this city, having removed their ancient meeting-house from the ground which it occupied for more than a century, are vigorously prosecuting the work upon one more suitable to their present wants and tastes. The corner-stone was laid on Thursday

morning, May 30, and the occasion added another to the usual interesting services of the anniversary week. An address was made by Rev. Mr. Robbins, pastor of the church, and prayer offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. — We learn with pleasure that a new society has been formed at Somerville (lately a part of Charlestown,) and has made arrangements for the erection of a meeting-house. — We understand also, that the Congregational Society at Brewster, formerly under the charge of the late Rev. Mr. Simpkins, whose place was filled by a Trinitarian successor, and the "Christian" Society in Fairhaven, are both hearing preachers from our body.

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*The Anniversaries.* — The week on which the anniversaries of the principal religious Associations in the Commonwealth are held in this city, was this year marked by the large attendance of persons from the country, and by the general character of harmony which pervaded the meetings. The weather was propitious, the selection of a day in the course of the week for a "Temperance mass celebration" drew crowds to Boston, and from these causes, and also, as we believe, from an increase of interest in our various religious occasions, the meetings were more fully attended than usual. We can particularly notice only those which belong to our own denomination. Of these we think the anniversary celebration of the Sunday School Society was the most pleasant. The public meeting of the Unitarian Association was good, but not remarkable for the character or interest of its proceedings. The private meeting of this Association for the consideration of resolutions relating to Slavery, though confined to a comparatively small number of persons, was distinguished by the earnest tone of the discussion and the importance of the subject. The "Collation" was a most agreeable and happy renewal of friendly greetings and Christian sympathies. The administration of the Lord's Supper brought together a large body of communicants, as well as others who did not participate in the ordinance, and all of whom must have felt that the length of the services caused the only qualification of much spiritual enjoyment. The Ministerial Conference was, as usual, both pleasant and profitable. And the Prayer and Conference meeting on Thursday morning gave great satisfaction to those who were present. Our record of each of these occasions must necessarily be brief.

*The Collation.* — On Tuesday, May 28, 1844, the fourth annual festival under this name was held in the extensive rooms over the depot of the Worcester railroad, opposite the United States Hotel. The accommodations for the reception of the company, and for their passage from the apartment in which they spent an hour of cordial recognition to that in which the tables were spread, were superior to what could be furnished last year, and the entertainment, abundant and elegant, yet simple in its character, was arranged to the best advantage for personal comfort and social enjoyment. Eight hundred and sixty tickets, the whole number which the capacity of the hall would allow to be issued, were taken before the hour, and as only a very few of those who held tickets were prevented from attending, nearly every seat was occupied. Of these eight hundred and forty or fifty persons, probably one half were ladies, and one



hundred or more clergymen, who are always invited guests. At two o'clock the company sat down to their repast, after the invocation of the Divine blessing by Rev. Mr. Putnam of Roxbury. Hon. Jonathan Chapman of Boston presided. Thanks having been returned by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston, Mr. Chapman addressed the company for a few minutes in a strain admirably suited to the occasion, and called upon others to follow his remarks with their own. Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Bethel Church in Boston, present by special invitation, Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Whitman of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Thomas, late of Concord, N. H., Hon. John C. Park of Boston, Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, Rev. Mr. Corder of Montreal, L. C., Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, late of Washington, D. C., Rev. Prof. Brooks of Boston, Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, Rev. Mr. Merrick of Walpole, and Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, successively spoke, giving expression to the feelings which the spectacle before them awakened. An original hymn and two original songs were sung by the whole company, in the course of the afternoon. Every thing conspired to render the occasion delightful, and when at six o'clock the President announced that on account of other engagements the company must break up, it was with a universal feeling of satisfaction that they concurred in the appointment of a Committee to make an arrangement for a similar "reunion" next year. — While our limits forbid our giving any report of the speeches, we must make one exception in favor of Mr. Brooks, who embraced this opportunity to deliver a message with which he was entrusted by the Unitarian brethren, in Geneva, Switzerland. "Give them our love," was the language of their cordial sympathy; which, if our words can reach them, we as cordially reciprocate.

*The American Unitarian Association.* — This body held their nineteenth annual meeting on Tuesday evening, May 28. The usual business was transacted in the Berry Street Vestry. Rev. Dr. Nichols having declined a reelection, Hon. Joseph Story LL. D., of Cambridge, was chosen President; the Vice Presidents of the last year were reelected; and also Rev. Charles Briggs, as General Secretary; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, Assistant Secretary; Mr. Henry P. Fairbanks, Treasurer; Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey, Rev. George E. Ellis, Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Directors. The public meeting was held in the Federal Street meeting-house, Judge Story presiding. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; after which the President made some remarks suggested by the recurrence of this anniversary. The annual Report was read by Mr. Briggs, and at its conclusion Mr. Lothrop, in behalf of the Executive Committee, offered a series of resolutions, as affording topics on which gentlemen might speak. The first of these resolutions referred to the validity of the great Protestant principles of the sufficiency of the Scriptures and the right of private judgment, the second to the importance and success of missionary efforts, the third to the condition of our brethren in England and other countries of Europe, and the fourth to the bereavements which had fallen upon us within the last year. Addresses were then made upon one or other of these subjects by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford, Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, Rev. Mr. Whitman of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Robbins of Chelsea, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Dr. Salt-



marsh of Hartford, Conn., Rev. Prof. Brooks of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston. The resolutions were adopted, the Doxology was sung, and the meeting was dissolved at half past ten o'clock. The house was filled through the evening.

At the business meeting previous to the public exercises a resolution was offered by Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, involving an expression of opinion on the subject of Slavery in the United States. As the want of time prevented its consideration then, it was brought before an adjourned meeting of the Association on Wednesday afternoon, and gave rise to an animated discussion, which was interrupted by the hour which called many of the members to the meeting of another body. An adjournment therefore took place till the next afternoon, when the Association met in a larger room, and continued the discussion till they were again obliged by other engagements to adjourn to the next day. On Friday morning a series of resolutions with a preamble was presented by Hon. Mr. Phillips of Salem, and was received as an amendment of Mr. May's resolution. This preamble assigned as the cause for any action on the subject the conduct of the society at Savannah in reference to Rev. Mr. Motte, several months since, and described the circumstances of that case as they were understood by the author of the resolutions; which then expressed, in clear and forcible, but calm language, the opinions entertained by this Association upon the institution of Slavery. A discussion ensued, which, with an adjournment of one hour at noon, was maintained till nine o'clock in the evening, when, after various amendments and additions had been rejected, Mr. Phillips's resolutions with the preamble were adopted by a vote of forty in the affirmative, to fifteen in the negative. These resolutions declare, that "while it is not deemed within the province of this Association, in the course of its ordinary proceedings, to entertain any question or adopt any measure in relation to the institution of Slavery, it is felt to be a duty, under the extraordinary circumstances of the case before us, to deliberate calmly and solemnly upon the subject as thus presented for our consideration, and to declare and record the result of our deliberations"; that in such a step we should "proceed upon Christian principles and in a Christian spirit—'speaking the truth in love'"; that "viewing the institution of Slavery in the light of Christianity, we cannot fail to perceive that it conflicts with the natural rights of human beings, as the equal children of a common Father, and that it subverts the fundamental principle of Christian brotherhood"; that "in its necessary effects upon the personal and social condition, and upon the moral and religious character of all affected by it," it presents "an accumulation of evils, over which Christianity must weep," and for the removal of which Christians should exert themselves to the utmost; that therefore "it is impossible for this Association to recognize the principle, that in the case of any minister or missionary who may be aided or employed by the Executive Committee, it should be deemed a disqualification for the performance of the appropriate duties of his office in any section of the country, that he is supposed or known to entertain, or to have publicly expressed opinions adverse to the institution of Slavery"; that the Association approve the course pursued by the Executive Committee in regard to Savannah; and that "this expression of views is commended to the serious and candid consideration of those who were the occasion

of its being made, with the assurance that the Association "have at heart the best interests of their brethren, upon whom, as much as upon themselves, rests the responsibility of illustrating the practical tendencies of the precious faith, to which we all owe a common attachment." After the adoption of these resolutions, prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkman, and the members of the Association, who had expressed different opinions in regard to the propriety of any action on the subject of Slavery, or in respect to the nature of the action which it might be proper to take, separated with mutual goodwill.

*Ministerial Conference.*—This meeting which has formerly been known under the name of the Berry Street Conference, from the place in which it assembled, having experienced inconvenience from the size of the Vestry in Berry Street, was this year held in a much more commodious room in Phillips Place, Tremont Street. The brethren assembled at 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Bailey of Medway, listened to the annual Address from Rev. Mr. Robinson of Medfield, upon the alleged defects of Unitarian Preaching. Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre was then chosen Moderator, and Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, Scribe, in the place of Rev. Mr. Robbins, who declined a reelection. Messrs. Young, Ellis, and Robbins, were appointed the Standing Committee for the year. A question presented by the Committee was then taken up for discussion, concerning the means which the preacher should use to give energy to his own religious convictions and to the convictions of his people. Many of the members of the Conference took part in the discussion, which was continued till noon, when inquiries were made respecting the Reply of the Unitarian ministers in this country to the Letter on Slavery addressed to them by their brethren in England. Some conversation ensued, but no action was taken on the subject. — An adjourned meeting of the Conference was held on Thursday morning, when two or three hours were spent in discussion upon the course which Unitarians should pursue towards other denominations that might be supposed to entertain similar opinions with their own, after which the meeting was adjourned to the next year.

*Sunday School Society.*—The sixteenth anniversary of this Association was celebrated on Wednesday evening, in the Federal Street meetinghouse; the President, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth; Rev. Mr. Waterston, the Corresponding Secretary, read portions of the annual Report, containing extracts from letters of superintendents of schools connected with the Society, and from the foreign correspondence. Remarks were then made by Hon. Mr. Phillips, Rev. Mr. Fosdick of Sterling, Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, R. I., Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Harrington of Providence, R. I., Rev. Mr. Corder of Montreal, L. C., and Rev. Mr. Waterston. Various topics were presented by the speakers, but all of them had an immediate relation to the interests of the Sunday school. Between the addresses the children of different schools, who occupied the front seats of the galleries, sang appropriate hymns. The house was filled in every part. The meeting closed at 10 o'clock.

*Conference and Prayer Meeting.*—A meeting of this character, attended by many of both the clergy and laity, was held on Thursday

morning in Ritchie Hall, which was entirely filled. Remarks suited to such an occasion were made by several persons, which, with singing and prayer, occupied a large part of the forenoon. It was resolved, at the close, to hold a similar meeting on both Wednesday and Thursday morning of the anniversary week next year.

*The Lord's Supper.* — The administration of this rite was attended by a large number of communicants, in the Federal Street church, on Thursday evening. A sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; after which the services at the table were conducted by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge, and Rev. Mr. Bulfinch from Washington, D. C.

*Massachusetts Bible Society.* — This Society, which includes among its subscribers and officers members of different religious denominations, celebrated this year its thirty-fifth anniversary, in the Winter Street church. Rev. John Peirce D. D. of Brookline was reelected President; Rev. John Codman D. D. of Dorchester, chosen Vice President; Rev. Francis Parkman D. D. of Boston, Corresponding Secretary; and Rev. William M. Rogers of Boston, Recording Secretary. At the public meeting addresses were made by Rev. Messrs. Choules of Roxbury, Waterston, and Butler, of Boston, and Vermilye of New York. The meeting was well attended.

*American Peace Society.* — This Society also, is confined to no religious denomination. Its sixteenth anniversary was celebrated by a public meeting in the Winter Street church, when prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Rogers of Boston, the annual Report was read by Rev. Mr. Beckwith, and an Address, on the character and evils of War, was delivered by Walter Channing M. D. of Boston. The Society reelected Samuel E. Coues Esq. of Portsmouth, N. H., President; Rev. George C. Beckwith, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. Joshua P. Blanchard, General Agent and Treasurer; and Mr. James L. Baker, Recording Secretary. The proceeds of the liberal bequest made by the late Mr. Ladd, former President of the Society, will, it is hoped, become available in the course of the present year.

*Prison Discipline Society.* — This Society, though in a measure subject to the charge of sectarian control, is sustained by persons of various religious persuasions. At its nineteenth anniversary, attended in the Park Street meetinghouse, Rev. Francis Wayland D. D., of Brown University, presided. Rev. Louis Dwight, to whom the Society is indebted for its existence and its whole efficiency, read extracts from the annual Report; after which addresses were made by Samuel Greele Esq., and Rev. Mr. Waterston, of Boston, Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Hon. Horace Mann, and Rev. Dr. Jenks, of Boston. The anniversary of this Society is always an occasion of interest.

*Massachusetts Convention.* — The Convention of Congregational Ministers of this Commonwealth, including both the Trinitarian and the Unitarian clergy of the Congregational order, met, according to immemorial usage, on the last Wednesday of May. Rev. Dr. Dana, the preacher of the year, presided. Rev. Mr. Adams of Boston was reelected Scribe, and Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, Treasurer. Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Williams College, being the first preacher for the next year, according to the choice made a year ago, Rev. Alvan Lamson D. D. of Dedham was chosen second preacher. On Thursday, the



Convention met in the Brattle Street church, where the annual Sermon was delivered by Rev. Daniel Dana D. D. of Newburyport, on the Necessity of holiness in the ministry. The attendance and collection were both small, probably on account of the celebration which we have next to notice.

*Temperance Celebration.* — On Thursday, May 30, a "Temperance Mass Meeting" was held on Boston Common. A large number of Temperance Societies from the country united with the various Temperance Associations of the city and swelled the procession, which passed through our principal streets, composed of both men and children, Protestants and Catholics, to the number of many thousands. They were addressed by Governor Briggs, and others, and adopted resolutions in favor of the "Washingtonian" movement. In the evening other addresses were made to a crowded audience at the Tremont Temple.

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*Missionary Fund.* — It is now two years since a proposal was made to raise \$10,000 annually among our churches for missionary purposes, in addition to what was contributed through our various benevolent societies. After some consultation among individuals a public meeting was held in Boston, and continued by adjournment, till a plan of operations was matured. A large Committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for a term of five years. This Committee issued circulars and adopted the necessary measures for executing the service laid upon them. They began their collection of the amount specified in the spring of 1843, but as it was determined that the annual organization of the Committee for the purposes contemplated in its appointment should take place in June of each year, it was thought best that the first financial year should extend to the close of May, 1844. At the public meeting of the American Unitarian Association on the 28th of last May, the Treasurer of this Committee, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, for the satisfaction of the audience, made a statement, from which it appeared that the sum of \$10,092 had been received, and had been paid, partly according to the directions of those by whom it was contributed, and partly, where no specific directions were given, according to the judgment of the Sub-Committee to whom this branch of the duty of the larger Committee was necessarily delegated; the whole amount, with the exception of incidental expenses, having been thus divided between the American Unitarian Association, the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education, and the Evangelical Missionary Society. At the first annual meeting of the Committee, June 11, 1844, H. B. Rogers Esq. was chosen Chairman; Mr. R. W. Bayley, Secretary; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, Treasurer; and Messrs. Albert Fearing, N. A. Barrett, Rev. J. F. Clarke, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Messrs. L. G. Pray, George Callender, Abiel Chandler, and N. H. Emmons, Executive Committee for the next year. This Committee were authorized to appoint an agent, whose business it should be to solicit and collect subscriptions to the Missionary Fund.

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*Fairs.* — Unexpected success has attended the recent attempts in this neighborhood to raise money for missionary objects by Fairs, conducted by ladies. The amount obtained in each instance has



exceeded the most sanguine hopes. The ladies of the First Church and Society in Roxbury made preparations for a breakfast and fair on May day, which, as the weather was unusually favorable, (reminding us of the first of May in Old rather than in New England,) was attended by a large number of persons from Boston. The proceeds were \$1,940, which have been paid to the Treasurer of the Missionary Fund, subject to the condition of appropriation to certain specified objects. A similar fair was held by the ladies of the First Parish in Dorchester on the 20th of May, which, though less productive, satisfied the expectations of those with whom it originated. The ladies of the First Society in Medford were encouraged by such examples to make preparations for a breakfast and fair on the 12th of June, from which were realized \$1,500, most of which has been appropriated to the support of new churches at the West. The ladies belonging to the Unitarian congregations in Salem have made arrangements for a festival of the same kind the next autumn, when they hope to rival by the display of fruits the exhibition of floral beauty which was seen in the halls at Medford. In Grafton and Billerica we notice that fairs have been held for local purposes, and we understand that the ladies of one of the societies in this city contemplate adopting the same method of procuring funds for the enlargement of the vestry connected with their church. It is certainly a very pleasant, and has proved a successful way of raising money for religious uses; but we hope it will not be made a reason or an apology for lessening the amount of direct subscription for objects of this nature.

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*Dudleian Lecture.*—The annual Lecture, established by the will of Hon. Paul Dudley, in his bequest to Harvard College, was delivered in the chapel of the University on Wednesday, May 8, 1844, by Rev. Barnas Sears D. D., of the Baptist Theological Institution at Newton. The subject this year, as determined by the conditions of the legacy, which assign the four subjects to be successively treated, was "the confirmation, illustration, and improvement, of the great articles of the Christian Religion." Under this broad head, Professor Sears selected particularly a consideration of the progress which had been made in settling the important questions that have arisen concerning the validity of the claims presented by Christianity. These questions, he showed, might now be considered as no longer opening a field for discussion. The Dudleian Lectures "commenced in 1775, and have since been annually continued without intermission."

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*Ordinations.*—Mr. SAMUEL PETTES jr., of Boston, a graduate of the Divinity School, was ordained Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Sharon, Mass, May 8, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from Luke xxiv. 21; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Huntoon of Canton; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Smith of Boston; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Merrick of Walpole, Robinson of Medfield, and White of Dedham.

Mr. GEORGE W. LIPPITT, of Providence, R. I., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Hawes Place

Congregational Church and Society in South Boston, Mass., May 9, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, from 1 Timothy iv. 16; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Northampton; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Osgood of Providence, and Huntington and Coolidge of Boston.

Mr. JOHN S. BROWN, was ordained over the Unitarian Congregational Society in Fitzwilliam, N. H., June 12, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt., from 2 Timothy iv. 5; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Harding of New Salem, Mass.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, Mass.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Morison of New Bedford, Mass.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Smith of Warwick, Mass., Willis of Walpole, N. H., and Sanderson of Troy, N. H.

#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*New Works.*—Since our last publication the third volume of Livermore's Commentary on the New Testament, containing the Notes on Acts, has appeared. We hope to give it a proper notice in our next number.—The "Memoirs of Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D.," commenced by the late Dr. Ware, and completed by Rev. Samuel Worcester, which we mentioned in our first number, has been published.—We cannot refrain from noticing a volume, which, although "printed for private distribution," we hope will find its way into many hands,— "A Selection from the writings of Henry R. Cleveland, with a Memoir by George S. Hillard." It is at once a beautiful memorial of one whose virtues mingled sweetly with his accomplishments, and a valuable contribution to our American literature.—Many of our readers will welcome the appearance of a work just published,— "Summer on the Lakes, in 1843, by Miss S. M. Fuller."

Our booksellers do not seem to be very busy at the present moment in the publication of new books. William Crosby proposes to issue a volume of Sermons on Christian Truth and Duty, selected by a Committee of the Union Pastoral Association from the manuscripts of the late Rev. George W. Wells, of Groton, Mass.; to which will be prefixed a memoir of Mr. Wells, by Rev. C. A. Bartol.— Little & Brown announce as in preparation, "The Chronicles of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the origin of the Colony in 1628. Now first collected from original records and unpublished manuscripts, and illustrated with notes. By Alexander Young." This work will be published in the same style with Mr. Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth," of which a second edition has just appeared.—James Munroe & Co. have in press a second edition of Mr. Peabody's Discourses on Christian Doctrine, in which will be found an additional discourse upon proper views of the Scriptures.—The same house will also publish within a short time a second edition of the Life of Oberlin, to which the late Dr. Ware Jr. prefixed an introduction from his own pen.—The second volume of Mr. Sparks's new series of American Biography, published

by Little & Brown, will contain the lives of James Otis and Gen. Oglethorpe.

We ought not to omit to mention the establishment in this city of a weekly publication, which we should be glad to see supplant the miserable *stuff* that our "periodical depots" furnish to the mass of readers. We refer to "Littell's Living Age," published every Saturday, at 12 1-2 cents for each number of 64 pages large octavo, well printed. It is composed of selections from the best foreign periodical literature, and resembles in its plan the "Museum of Foreign Literature," issued for many years by Littell in Philadelphia. As it will contain solid articles from the prominent English Reviews, as well as lighter selections, we hope it will receive encouragement.

*Massachusetts Board of Education.*—One of the most surprising examples of religious bigotry which have of late appeared among us has been given in the columns of an Episcopalian paper, issued in this city, the editor of which has lent his journal to an attack upon the Board of Education and the gentleman who fills the office of Secretary to the Board, and who in this capacity has done so much for the Common Schools of the State. The scrupulous care which Mr. Mann and the Board have taken to exclude sectarian instruction from the schools is made the ground of a charge too ridiculous to be noticed, if it were not for its gross injustice and mischievous design. This charge is nothing less than the imputation of a purpose to convert our schools into institutions for the propagation of infidelity. Mr. Mann in a series of communications to the public press has triumphantly vindicated himself and the Board, and driven his assailant to an acknowledgment that the exclusion of sectarian teaching from the schools was the sole ground of his hostility. He, forsooth! would make our common schools nurseries of theological dogmatism. The calm contempt which such a proposal deserves, however covertly insinuated or boldly advanced, is the fittest rebuke which it can receive. Still let the people of the Commonwealth, having discovered that such a scheme has supporters in one of the prominent religious sects, be watchful in guarding their own and their children's inheritance.

#### OBITUARY.

CHARLES BULFINCH Esq. died at Boston, Mass., April 15, 1844, aged 81 years. Mr. Bulfinch was a native of this city, where he spent the greater part of his life. He here filled various municipal offices, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of all his fellow-citizens. Soon after the last war with Great Britain, he removed to Washington, D. C., where he was employed as architect of the public buildings, and where he became a most valuable member of the Unitarian society in that place. About ten years since he returned to his native city, and resumed his attendance upon the King's Chapel, of which he had formerly been a prominent member. His life though active, was peaceful, and he has left a name that will be remembered with tender respect.

G.

JAMES TAYLOR Esq. died at Philadelphia, Penn., April 30, 1844, aged 76 years. Mr. Taylor was a native of Scotland, but had long



resided in Philadelphia, where he was widely known and universally esteemed. For a considerable period after the formation of the Unitarian society in that city, Mr. Taylor conducted the services of the church on the Lord's day, in connexion with the late Ralph Eddowes and John Vaughan—honored names! For a time, the whole charge of the pulpit rested with him. Mr. Taylor was, as a Unitarian Christian, equally decided and intelligent. His erect form and courteous dignity seemed to indicate the integrity of the spirit to which cowardice and equivocation, hatred and malice, were alike unknown. He enjoyed a green old age. G.

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JAMES THACHER, M. D. died at Plymouth, Mass., May 23, 1844, aged 90 years. Dr. Thacher was distinguished in his profession both as a practitioner and writer. His fondness for antiquarian inquiries, with his veneration for the Pilgrim Fathers, made him familiar with the early history of Plymouth, and of the fruits of his historical zeal the public, as well as the citizens of that place, enjoyed the benefit. But he was, perhaps, best known beyond the circle of immediate friends by his "Journal" of the revolutionary war, during which he held the appointment of surgeon in the army under Washington. He was distinguished by simplicity of character, an activity of mind which extreme age could not abate, and an anxious desire to make himself useful to his fellow-men. He was a sincere and exemplary Christian, and both the church and the town to which he belonged lost by his death one whom they delighted to honor. G.

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#### LETTER FROM W. B. CARPENTER, M. D.

We omit our usual department of Miscellaneous Intelligence and give place to the following letter, from an English friend, addressed to one of the editors of this journal, because it is, with perhaps the exception of the concluding sentence, written in a courteous style and kind spirit. The author makes a direct request for its publication, which we are not disposed to deny, but with which we should have more cheerfully complied, if he had not committed the indecorum, as we view it, of printing in an English journal a communication privately sent to us, before he could know our decision upon its appearance in the Examiner. Though we have no objection to inserting articles presenting different views of subjects, we should, as a general rule, decline the publication of direct replies to articles that may have appeared in our pages; but in this instance, our regard for the writer and the character of the letter induce us to give it the earliest insertion in our power.—[Eds. Christ. Exam. and Rel. Misc.]

*Bristol, April 3, 1844.*

MY DEAR SIR:—In common with very many others on this side of the Atlantic, I have read with much interest the eloquent article in defence of "American Morals and Manners" in a late number of the Christian Examiner, and I hope that it will contribute to diffuse in this country juster views on the great questions it discusses. It is because I am most anxious that the authority of its distinguished author, and of your most valuable journal, should not be lent to what I deem a serious and most pernicious error, that I venture to address



you in reference to *one sentence* in the portion of the article which relates to the much-vexed question of Slavery. That this is a most difficult question, I fully admit. That we, on this side of the water, are but very imperfectly acquainted with the number and extent of the difficulties which environ it, I am very well aware. And on this account I forbear any comments upon the mode in which the general subject is handled; and confine myself to a single point on which I feel entitled to speak with something like confidence, — in the hope of doing somewhat to clear away one, at least, of the difficulties, which (as it appears to me) have been unnecessarily raised up.

The point to which I allude is comprised in the following sentence; in which the colored population is said to be “scattered among us, and yet separated from us by impassable physical if not mental barriers; refused intermarriage, refused intercourse as equals, be it ever so unjustly;” — to which the writer adds, — “how are they ever to rise?” Now I shall endeavor to demonstrate, that this statement is neither scientifically nor historically true; and I shall endeavor to answer the question, “how are they ever to rise,” by reference to certain well-known facts of recent occurrence in the British West India islands. In regard to my competence to speak on this subject I may simply say, that I believe my name to be now well-known in the United States as a physiologist, and that I have therefore some right to offer an opinion upon the *scientific* part of the question; and that I feel qualified, by a residence in the West Indies previously to the Emancipation Act, and by frequent opportunities I have since enjoyed, of knowing the subsequent progress of society in those colonies, to speak with some confidence as to the *practical* portion of the subject. I may further say, that I am not ignorant of what is urged in the United States on these matters; having conversed with many benevolent and enlightened Americans on the questions I am now to discuss, and become fully acquainted with their feelings, and with what I must call their prejudices. Among these I may mention, as one of the first, the universally respected Tuckerman; and as one of the last, the author of the article now under consideration. The former candidly admitted, on leaving England, that his feelings on the subject of the colored races had been very much changed by his residence here; and I had hoped that the views of the latter might have been in some degree modified by the statements which were made to him by myself and others.

The colored races cannot be separated from the white, by “impassable physical and mental barriers,” if their origin is the same, and if one is capable of exhibiting the characters of the other. You must be well aware that the question of the unity of the species of the different races of man has been most ably treated by my learned fellow-townsmen, Dr. Prichard; who is now engaged upon the continuation of a new edition of his celebrated work on the “Physical History of Mankind;” after having digressed for a time, to produce a smaller work entitled the “Natural History of Mankind,” which contains a general summary of his arguments and results. These I have frequently and attentively considered; and I cannot entertain a shade of doubt as to the correctness of the position he takes; which is simply this, — that there are no *definite* and *constant* anatomical or physiological differences between the different races of man, which can justify the belief that they are to be regarded as distinct species; that

we are therefore to refer them all to a common stock; and to look to various external circumstances (such as those which have produced the various breeds of our domesticated races) as the cause of the diversities. As a physiologist and a naturalist, I do not hesitate to say, that the unprejudiced application of the principles which are fully recognized in other branches of Natural History, to this question, can lead to no other conclusion. It is well known that, among the various tribes of animals, there are some whose constitutions have not the power of adapting themselves to external circumstances; and whose distribution on the surface of the earth is consequently limited, their zoological characters being extremely constant; whilst there are others, (in which category rank all our domesticated races, and many more that might be domesticated,) which possess this power of adaptation in a remarkable degree, and are consequently diffused widely over the globe, their zoological characters at the same time exhibiting great variations. Now of this last class, man unquestionably stands first, the dog probably next, and then our horses, sheep, and cattle. Will any one affirm that there is more difference between a Negro and a Caucasian, than between a greyhound and a mastiff; or that the education which, continued through a succession of generations, develops certain faculties and habits in the dog, shall be less effectual in man? It is perfectly true that, on looking at a Guinea-Coast Negro and an intelligent Englishman or American, side by side, the distinctions do appear definite enough; but let any one candidly read Dr. Prichard's account of the nations inhabiting Africa, and see how closely those of undoubted Caucasian descent approximate to the highest of the Negro stock (being often indeed surpassed by them), — and I am much mistaken if he will then affirm that such impassable barriers exist. The fact appears to me to be, that whilst the Caucasian races as a whole have vastly improved upon the original type, the Negro races have, taken as a whole, retrograded from it; but I cannot see the least valid reason for supposing that time and favorable external circumstances would fail to do that for *them*, which it has done for other races. Similar instances of degradation, though not to the same extent, are quoted by Dr. Prichard as having presented themselves among the Caucasian races, and are obviously attributable to the influence of external conditions, operating from generation to generation. I recollect being asked by Dr. Tuckerman, whether I thought that twelve black children, taken from their parents at a year old, and brought up with twelve white children of the same age, would show an equality of mental power with the latter; to which I answered, "Certainly not; but if the descendants of those black children were treated in the same manner for several generations, I have no doubt that this equality would result." A difference at least equal would be found, I am confident, between twelve children of uneducated European parents, and twelve children of families whose minds had been progressively improved by centuries of instruction. For I do not think that there is a physiological fact better established, than the transmissibility, from parent to offspring, of *acquired peculiarities*, whether physical or mental, within certain limitations. I may appear to dogmatize on this subject; but the evidence in support of my statements would be too long to adduce in this letter; and it is accessible to those who wish to go into the question, in the works I have mentioned. I may

also refer to two most valuable papers by the late Mr. Knight (the President of the Horticultural Society) containing the result of his observations on the transmission of acquired peculiarities in animals and vegetables, prolonged through nearly three quarters of a century; these are contained in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1813 and 1837.

But what are these "impassable physical barriers"? I have heard of but two strongly insisted on; and these I shall try to remove. There can be no indelicacy, it seems to me, in speaking plainly on subjects which concern the welfare of millions of our fellow-creatures; and I shall therefore enter upon them without reserve. The first is, the odor exhaled from the skin of the Negro, which renders his contiguity unpleasant. This is given as a reason for excluding him (even if otherwise well qualified) from society; for assigning to him a separate place in the house of prayer; and for keeping him in a position of continued degradation. Now it is very well known, that the secretion from the skin of *all* dark races (for it is not confined to the Negro,—the Hindoo, of Caucasian stock, being similar in this respect) is more abundant than that of the white; but that it is necessarily more odoriferous, is not the fact,—nothing but habits of cleanliness being required to prevent its being so. From my experience in the West Indies I can safely say, that I would as soon sit in a room-full of negroes, as in the midst of an equal number of the "great unwashed" of our own country; and it is obvious that the evil, if it has a real existence, must be greater in a tropical than in a temperate climate. I shall presently show what experience, on a more extended scale, has proved on this subject. Moreover, is the offence confined to the *black* race? Do the mulattoes share it? Do the quadroons? Is it propagated, with the minutest shade of black, to all the intermediate races, which at present lie under this ban in the United States? I can scarcely imagine this to be the case; at any rate I have known individuals of these classes in our own country, who do not share in the penalty, and who no more deserve to do so on this ground, than the average of those of pure European descent.

The other supposed "barrier" to which I allude, is the instinctive repugnance which is said to be felt in America to the union of two individuals of different races in marriage. I am quite at a loss to account for the feelings with which this subject is regarded in the United States, except by considering them as prejudices induced by the particular social condition in which the colored races are there placed. Even Dr. Tuckerman expressed a horror at the idea of the marriage of a white woman with a black man,—as if it were an altogether unnatural union. And yet such marriages are not uncommon in this country; it being notorious that the black stewards and servants who come over in our West India ships, very commonly marry white women (often very handsome ones) in our seaport towns; so that by far the larger proportion of the mulatto children which such towns contain, are the produce of these unions. But the best answer to this objection is furnished by the facts of continual occurrence in your own country; for it is notorious that, though *marriages* are prevented by law or by the force of public opinion, illicit connections are common enough, between white men, and women of all shades of color. And yet even fair-complexioned, well-portioned, well-educated, and virtuous young women, would be thought



unworthy of matrimony with a white man, if it could be proved that she had a sixteenth part of negro blood in her veins. Can it be wondered at, then, that these females should remain in the degraded position in which they are at present placed, so long as they have no hope of improving their condition, by the most rigid propriety of conduct, and by the highest cultivation of their minds? I think that the facts to which I allude, are a sufficient proof that the barrier is *not* impassable; and that however distasteful may be the idea of a marriage between individuals of different races, on account of the present relative social position of the two, it is no more than would exist in this country between the daughter of a peer, and the son of a ploughman. No one who is not prejudiced by the pride of descent, would look upon *this* as impassable, or would consider its fitness as depending upon anything else than the intellectual, moral, and personal qualifications, and the relative social positions, of the two parties. It might easily be, that the son of the ploughman might be really degraded by an alliance with the daughter of a peer. And I cannot but believe that, even in one or two generations, the daughter of an American merchant might find the descendant of the despised Negro not unworthy of her attachment. I need not dwell upon this point; since it is evident, from the facts to which I have alluded, that no barrier exists, which a difference in social position would not remove.

But how to raise the social position of the colored races, is (I admit) the difficult part of the question. It is considerably simplified, however, by the adoption of a general principle, the truth of which I conceive to be borne out by ample experience;—"If elevation in the social scale be held out to the colored races, as a reward within their power to attain, they will speedily qualify themselves for it; but so long as they are made to feel themselves an inferior race, and are debarred from social privileges, they will remain in the same depressed condition." When I visited the West Indies, about twelve years ago, the free colored population was nearly in the same position as it is in America at present. It was not viewed by the whites, however, with equal repugnance; in proof of which I may mention, that black families held seats in the body of the principal churches; and I may add, that I was accustomed to sit in the next pew to one of these, and never perceived the objectionable odor. The Government was then preparing the way for further improvements, by issuing militia commissions to respectable colored gentlemen,—a measure for which they were loudly censured by the white planters, but which soon ceased to encounter further opposition. Subsequently to the Emancipation Act, a much more friendly feeling has sprung up between the two races, especially in those islands which have been blessed with judicious Governors. This has been especially the case in Jamaica, under the excellent management of Sir Charles Metcalfe; who has left that island in advance—if anything—of the other colonies, though it was previously far behind them in this respect. He caused it to be understood, very early in his administration, that he should make no distinction of color; and that respectability of position and of character would entitle the black and colored inhabitants of the island to an equal share of his notice with the white. It was soon found that a considerable number of the former were qualified by wealth, by education, and by character, to

be admitted to the Governor's balls and parties, as well as to receive Government patronage; and this number has largely increased, during the few years that have elapsed since this system was commenced.

A few more facts bearing on the same subject, and falling within my own knowledge, may add strength to the position I have taken. The University of Edinburgh has seldom been without colored students; who have shown themselves fully equal to the average of their white compeers, in intelligence and assiduity; and who have never been excluded from social intercourse on account of their hue. At the present time there is a black student in the Temple, who is keeping his law-terms, eating his dinners, and associating in the usual manner with his fellow-students; and I have not heard that he has manifested any of the fancied disqualifications which are erected as barriers between the two races in America. The friend with whom I resided in the West Indies, and who paid me a visit last year, informed me that he had left one of the most valuable of the estates under his charge, to the care of a black manager,—a man whom I well remember as a slave twelve years ago; and that he regarded him as fully equal in capacity and in trustworthiness to the white managers employed on the other estates.—I cannot agree with the writer of your article, that the colored population is the “dominant class” in the West Indies. It may be so as regards number; but this by no means in all the colonies,—Barbadoes, for instance. As regards property, there cannot be a question that the vast preponderance is on the side of the whites. And as regards social position, it may confidently be asserted that the free colored races were, at the period at which I visited the West Indies, “a small and depressed minority.” That they are no longer so, is the result of the Emancipation Act, and of the efforts which have been made, with judgment and perseverance, to break down the barriers, which twenty years ago were thought in the West Indies, as now in the United States, to be impassable. I again repeat, with an earnest conviction of the truth of what I have advanced,—“Hold out the reward, and it will be speedily attained.”

I trust that I shall not be thought to have impertinently intruded myself and my opinions on your notice, if I request you to give these statements currency, either in the *Christian Examiner*, or in some other journal. I should, of course, prefer the former; but do not know whether it may be consistent with your plan to admit it. I do not ask any of my friends on your side of the Atlantic to take my assertions upon trust; but I do ask them not to satisfy themselves with vague generalities, on a subject on which it is of the utmost importance to possess clear and definite notions. I have purposely abstained from touching upon the moral questions involved in this knotty subject; because I do not feel justified in animadverting upon the opinions of those, who have better opportunities of judging upon them than I can claim; but I do entreat, that those who lead public opinion upon this subject, will not put forth such strong and sweeping assertions as that on which I have felt it my duty to comment, without examining into the evidence on which they are based, through some other medium than the mists of hereditary and national repugnance. I am, Dear Sir, with much respect,

Yours faithfully, WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M. D., F. R. S.